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"He Descended into Hell"

An Interpretation of 1 Peter 3:18-20

By MARTIN H. SCHARLEMANN

EVERY Sunday our congregations confess their Christian faith. Each time they use the Apostles' Creed they include in their statement of belief the words "He descended into hell." In recent years this short sentence has come under considerable discussion within our own circles. There has been some question as to the significance of these words as they are used in the Creed. In view of this situation, it is most desirable to re-examine the *descensus* in the light of Holy Scripture.

Before we get into a study of the Biblical evidence for this doctrine, however, it is well to note that the Nicene Creed contains no statement on Christ's descent into hell. Nor does Luther's explanation of the Second Article make any reference to this part of the Creed. The sentence is found only in the Apostolic and Athanasian Creeds, with a slight difference in the Latin wording. While the medieval Apostolicum says that Jesus descended *ad inferna*, the Athanasian statement of faith uses the expression, *descendit ad inferos*. Both formulations say that our Lord went down into the nether regions, rendered into Greek as εἰς τὰ κατώτατα.

We must also be aware of the fact that this phrase was added to the Apostles' Creed at a rather late date. It was not in general use until the sixth century. Before that time there are only scattered references to the use of this article of faith. The earliest formal creedal confession of the *descensus ad inferos* is found in the so-called Fourth Formula of Sirmium, A.D. 359.¹ Furthermore, we are told by Rufinus that this article was found toward

the end of the fourth century in the baptismal *homologia* as used by his church at Aquileia. It appears that only at the beginning of the seventh century was the item on the *descensus* accepted generally into the creeds of the Western Church. The Eastern churches never did accept either the Apostolic or the Athanasian Creeds, although the subject of the descent apparently became a subject of theological discussion and speculation first in the East. Just why the reference to the descent into hell was included at all and why this should have happened in the time from the fourth to the sixth centuries are both mysteries. There was a time when it was believed to have been inserted to counteract the influence of Apollinarianism. That supposition, however, has been completely disproved. We simply do not know the reason for the addition of these words to the Apostles' Creed.

The fact, however, that the statement on the *descensus* was incorporated in the Creeds at a rather late date does not mean to suggest that there was no doctrine of Christ's descent in the early church. On the contrary, it has become abundantly evident that the subject matter of Christ's *κατάβασις* came under discussion very early in the life of the church. In their original context the words that later became part of the Creed probably did little more than emphasize the reality of Christ's death.² This was only natural, since Christian theology was stated in terms of Greek categories rather than in terms of distinctions made by the New Testament.³ Before long, however, two streams of interpretation emerged.

In a general way it may be said that in the churches of the East the thought gained ascendancy that Christ's soul entered into the realm of the dead to lead the saints of the Old Testament into the bliss of heaven. This "harrowing of hell," as it is sometimes referred to, is described at some length by the spurious *Gospel of Nicodemus*. It includes a description of the descent itself, a deception of Satan, a bursting of the gates, a preaching to the spirits, their release, and the resurrection of the saints. In the Western tradition the descent into hell came to be interpreted in terms of the *limbus patrum*, where Jesus offered the departed souls of patriarchs and prophets the benefit of His sacrifice. In each instance the statement on the descent into hell was related to the question of the extent of Christ's redemptive work. Both in the

theology of the Eastern churches and in Roman Catholic belief the doctrine is embellished with considerable detail. In the church of the Middle Ages the subject lent itself to frequent and often grotesque treatment both in preaching and in art.

Within modern times the doctrine of the descent is often described as a remnant of sub-Christian mythology. The most recent commentary in English on the First Epistle of Peter, in fact, dismisses the whole matter in the following paragraph: "This passing reference to the descent scarcely deserves the attention it has received. . . . The doctrine of the descent into Hades . . . is nothing else than the appropriation, and the application to Christ, of a fragment of the redemption-mythology of the Oriental religions. . . ." ⁴

Where the doctrine is still taken seriously today, it is usually described as intending to suggest a "larger hope," a partial answer to the question as to what happened to such as died in the ages before Christ without hearing the Gospel. By some beautifully executed exegetical somersaults 1 Peter 4:6 is joined to 1 Peter 3:19, 20, and the conclusion is drawn that Christ descended into hell to proclaim the Gospel to those held in detention in order to release from "prison" such as might believe on Him.

In Reformed theology the statement "He descended into hell (Hades)" is in some instances omitted entirely from the Apostles' Creed. Where the words are retained, they are usually interpreted in the sense of Calvin, who regarded them as a figurative expression of the truth that Christ suffered God's anger for us on the cross. ⁵

Sometimes the words are thought of as meaning no more than the preceding *sepultus est*. In this view *Hades* is understood in its general sense of Sheol, the region of the dead, without a recognition of the fact that the New Testament at times uses the word *Hades* in its narrow sense of the place of the damned. ⁶ As a matter of interest it should be noted in passing that this view was held by one of Bugenhagen's students, John Aepinus, who became the Lutheran superintendent of Hamburg from 1532 to 1553. He came to this conclusion in his interpretation of Psalm 16. When his position was attacked in 1549, the Wittenberg faculty was asked for a *Gutachten*. Melancthon replied to this request with the statement that no agreement had yet been reached among the dog-

maticians.⁷ This interpretation of the descent as an emphatic expansion of "dead and buried" has been retained to this day in the Swedish version of the Apostles' Creed.⁸

Since the adoption of the Formula of Concord the Lutheran Church in general is more precise in its conception of the *descensus*. On the one hand, it takes the doctrine seriously; on the other it avoids the fanciful details added by tradition. The teaching on Christ's descent is set forth at two places in the Formula of Concord. In the Thorough Declaration we find the following statement: "We simply believe that the entire person, God and man, after the burial descended into hell, conquered the devil, destroyed the power of hell, and took from the devil all his might." The Epitome says: "For it is sufficient that we know that Christ descended into hell, destroyed hell for all believers, and delivered them from the power of death and the power of the devil, from eternal condemnation and the jaws of hell."

Here the Lutheran position limits itself to those facts which can be demonstrated from Scriptures. The immediate source, however, of these formulations was Luther's famous Easter sermon at Torgau, on April 13, 1533.⁹ This sermon is a crystallization of Luther's catechetical experience in handling the descent and especially the resurrection. The only Scripture passage he refers to is Psalm 16. Behind what he says, though, is particularly Eph. 4:8, 9.

In addition to this passage from Ephesians, Rom. 10:6-8 might have been used or referred to. However, the clearest passage in the New Testament on the descent of Christ is 1 Peter 3:18-20. A detailed discussion of these verses will reward us with an awareness of what our Bible does and does not say on this subject.

A translation of this passage might read as follows: "Because even Christ died once on behalf of sins, a just man taking the place of sinful people, that He might present you to God, having been done to death with respect to His body but brought to life with respect to the spirit. During the course of this He went and made proclamation even to the spirits in prison, to such as had refused to come to faith long ago, when the patience of God waited them out in the days of Noah, as the ark was being prepared, in which a few, that is, eight souls, were safely brought through by water."

Since this particular section is only part of a larger portion, running from verses 18 to 22, it is necessary to consider the context. Verse 18 follows immediately upon a statement which says that it is better to suffer for doing good, if that should be the will of God, than to suffer for wrongdoing. Then the Apostle introduces the instance of Christ as the supreme Example of one who suffered wrongfully. The Apostle has a very practical point in mind. He was writing to people who were exposed to the danger of suffering for their Christian faith. He would have his readers remember that even Christ, whose whole life consisted of doing good (Acts 10:38), had to suffer and even die. His death, however, was followed by a great victory.

The whole context reminds one strongly of the order in which Christ's work is set forth in the Second Article of the Apostles' Creed: He died, descended, was made alive, ascended and sits at the right hand of God. All this is of significance not only because these statements surround a discussion of Baptism, which required a confession of faith, but also because it would suggest that everything following Jesus' "being done to death in the body" is part of Christ's triumph. It may be well, however, to examine the text very closely to determine whether there is adequate justification for this point of view.

The text begins with a statement that "even Christ died." There is considerable emphasis on the word *καί*. The author stresses the fact that the most unexpected happened when even Christ was put to death, despite the fact that He was "just." His was more than dying, however. He died *once*. This term is used a number of times by the New Testament to describe the once-for-all significance of Christ's redemption. His death was the conclusive and definitive embodiment in history of the principle of transforming suffering and death into glory and victory. There was never a death like this before; there has been none since. It has absolute value. Christ died "on behalf of sins." This phrase is used regularly for the sin offerings of the Old Testament. Christ was the great Sin Offering, who atoned not only for single transgressions but for all sins. This is an inclusive plural. There is no sin of any kind, committed anywhere at any time, which was not included in His dying for us.

There is some question in the text as to whether the Apostle wrote that Christ died or whether he used the word for "suffer." The bulk of the textual evidence seems to favor the Greek ἀπέθανεν rather than ἔπαθεν, although the previous context has spoken only of suffering. "He died" is the more difficult reading to explain; and this in itself would suggest that it is probably the correct one. The reference to death might also point to the fact that the Christians to whom the Apostle was writing at times met their death as a result of persecution. It must be admitted that there is not much in the rest of the epistle to corroborate this particular point. Yet it is a possibility, particularly if, as Selwyn suggests, First Peter was written A. D. 62, shortly after the martyrdom of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem.¹⁰

We are told that Christ died as one who was righteous. This is a broad term describing our Lord as one who never failed to do what needed to be done and one who always carried out what was required by God's will. He was in every respect without fault; and yet He died "in the stead of people who are full of wrong." These words underline the vicarious nature of Christ's death and the once-for-all significance of this particular death, on a hill outside the city of Jerusalem. It was here that the Good Shepherd laid down His life for His sheep. He did so vicariously as our Mediator. He died "that He might present you to God." It has been suggested that this clause speaks of Christ offering us to God. Luther takes it in this sense in his commentaries on First Peter.¹¹ However, it seems best to take the verb here in the sense of its noun-form as we find it in Eph. 2:18, where we read that "through Him we have access to the Father."

It is only after the Apostle has delineated the vicarious and mediatorial significance of Christ's death that we reach the passage leading into the statement on the *descensus*. This section is truly, as Dr. Stoeckhardt once called it, a *locus vexatissimus*. The author tells us that Christ was done to death *σάραξι*. This word confronts us with a great difficulty for interpretation. It may be made synonymous with another Greek word meaning "body." Then it would refer to that part of our Lord's person where the suffering was most evident to those who witnessed it and to those who conducted the trial. The word could also mean Jesus' human

nature, as in John 1:14: "And the Word was made flesh. . . ." Then it would mean that only that part of Christ died which He assumed at the Incarnation. Such a construction, however, would be contrary to the teaching of the New Testament that Jesus died as God-Man, a truth which makes it possible for Christians to sing on Good Friday, *O grosse Not, Gott selbst ist tot!* There is, however, another use of this word found occasionally, not only in the New Testament but also in the secular Greek of that time. Σάϑξ is at times used of a person's earthly career. St. Paul uses it that way in Phil. 1:24, where he speaks of wanting to remain *in this life* for the sake of his Christians at Philippi. We find another significant use of the same word in Rom. 1:3: . . . "made of the seed of David according to the flesh." Here the term is used of the historical appearance of Christ. He came as a son of David; that is, He came into our historical context as a descendant of that house. This is most probably the meaning of σάϑξ in the Peter passage under discussion. The word is used, then, to say that in the natural and physical order of things, or with respect to His earthly career, Jesus was done to death. He was the victim of a judicial murder planned and executed here within the context of human life.

The verse then goes on to say: "But He was brought to life with respect to the spirit." It has been suggested that the two phrases of this last part of verse 18 correspond with each other so as to mean: "Although He was done to death with respect to His earthly career, He was alive in spirit." But this view leaves out of account the action described by the verb ζωοποιηθεῖς. This term points to something that was done to Jesus. It refers unmistakably to a specific act of God by which our Lord was brought to life.

Not all scholars agree that this action is to be understood with reference to the resurrection in its narrow sense. There are those who restrict the word at this point to the vivification, which is distinguished from the resurrection in the sense that the resurrection was the public display (*exhibitio*) of His having come to life. In many passages in the New Testament this distinction is not made. However, in Eph. 2:5,6 the Apostle Paul does point to a difference between "quickening" and "raising up." Such a distinction would lead us to believe that we could quite properly, on the basis of the New Testament, separate the vivification and the

resurrection for purposes of chronology and clarification of what happened early on Easter Sunday morning. At any rate, Christ was "brought to life with respect to the spirit," we are told here. The last word of the phrase is a dative of reference. It can probably best be interpreted in the light of two other passages in which the term πνεῦμα bulks large. When our Lord died on the cross, we read that He committed His spirit into His Father's hands (Luke 23:46). The dative of reference in our text could, therefore, suggest that Jesus was brought to life in the sense that His spirit returned to His body. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the coming to life of the daughter of Jairus is described in terms of her spirit returning to her body (Luke 8:55). Our passage would then have reference to the risen Lord. His spirit joined His body to give Him that glorified body with which His disciples became familiar after His resurrection. Accordingly, Jesus as the God-Man, in body and spirit, carried on the activity described in the next verse.

Verse 19 confronts us at the outset with a few textual matters. There are those who suggest that the text suffers from an omission. It has been conjectured that the name Enoch was somehow dropped from the verse during the process of transmission. This supposition was first advanced by Bowyer, probably in his Greek Testament of 1763, and most certainly in his second edition of 1772. At present this conjecture is of significance because it was adopted by Moffatt in his translation. He found it as a conjecture made by Rendel Harris, who proposed that the reading should be ἐν ᾧ Ἐνώχ. This seems most unlikely. There is no textual evidence for it whatsoever. Moreover, it would be difficult to understand why Enoch should all at once be introduced, when there has been no reference to him in this letter so far. The conjecture did, however, receive enthusiastic support for a time, mostly because of the exciting fact that the Book of Enoch was discovered in an Ethiopic translation at about the time Bowyer submitted his guess.

The question has also been raised whether the antecedent of the relative pronoun in verse 19 is the word "spirit" of the previous verse or whether it has a broader scope. If the latter is the case ἐν ᾧ would mean, "in which circumstance," or "in the course of which." Since the Apostle has once before (1:6) used this same

construction in a wider sense, there is a strong possibility that it is to be interpreted in that way at this point. This position is strengthened by the fact that in 4:4 the same phrase occurs again in its broader usage. What is more, there does not seem to be any evidence in Greek grammars for a relative pronoun following immediately upon a dative of reference. For that reason we are quite safe in suggesting that the two words here mean "in the course of which." That is to say, while all this was going on, particularly as Christ was being brought back to life, in the moment before He showed Himself as the risen Lord, He went and made proclamation to the spirits in prison. This interpretation distinguishes, therefore, between the bringing to life and the resurrection and suggests that the God-Man in His glorified state went and made proclamation in "prison" before He exhibited Himself at the open tomb.

We can be no more precise about the Greek word κηρύσσειν at this point than to say that it means "to make proclamation." Dogmatists have debated the subject whether this implies that Christ proclaimed the Gospel or whether He announced judgment to those to whom He went to speak. The verb does not say. We must, of course, note that it usually has reference to the proclamation of the Gospel. However, when it is so used, the object is normally stated. For instance, in Mark 1:14 the verb has the object "the Gospel of God." In Luke 9:2 it is used with the "kingdom of God"; in Acts 8:5 it is Christ Himself that is given as the content of the proclamation. We do find one other instance, however, where the verb is used in a neutral sense: in a vision the Seer of Patmos saw a great angel "trumpeting with a loud voice" (Rev. 5:2). It is probably best to take the word in that sense here (cf. also Mark 7:36). In other words, there does not seem to be too much point in getting involved in the question of what it was that Christ proclaimed. Nor does it make too much difference in an understanding of the *descensus*. If Christ made proclamation of Himself as the Messiah, that is the "good news." However, to those who had refused to come to faith it could only be very bad news, indeed!

It is said that Christ "went" and made proclamation. This is a very important verb to consider in this connection. It makes

impossible a spiritual interpretation of this verse. Calvin gave it such a meaning, maintaining that it referred to the fact that, when Christ died on the cross, the effects of His death were felt throughout the realm of the dead. This is most unlikely in view of the fact that we read Christ "went"; for this is the same word that occurs in verse 22 with reference to the ascension. As we have no right to spiritualize the ascension, so there is little justification for taking the heart out of the verb here or ignoring it. Christ "went and made proclamation to the spirits in prison." That is what the text says.

Now, who were the spirits in prison? Does this phrase refer only to the fallen angels, identified by some commentators with the "sons of God" mentioned in Genesis 6?¹² Or does it include also the souls of departed men? Or, again, does it speak of people during their lifetime? It is this phrase which led Luther to say of this text: "Das ist ein wunderlicher Text und finsterer Spruch, als freilich einer im Neuen Testament ist, dass ich noch nicht gewiss weiss, was St. Peter meint."¹³

What made Luther talk this way was probably the fact that the exegetical materials available to him construed this phrase in a Platonic sense. Augustine, for example, emphatically denies that this passage has any bearing at all on the subject of the *descensus*. He interprets the particular phrase we have under discussion as follows: "Spiritus in carcere inclusi sunt increduli, qui vixerunt temporibus Noe, quorum spiritus, i.e., animae, erant in carne et ignorantiae tenebris velut in carcere conclusae. . . ."¹⁴ He takes this whole verse and the following one to mean that Christ as the pre-incarnate Word preached the Gospel to the people who were living at the time of Noah. They were spirits in prison because they were still living on earth; their souls had not yet been released from their prison, the body. This view is most likely, in part at least, the source of Martin Luther's strange suggestion that this verse is a reference to the pouring out of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost Day. The same Spirit (verse 18) that brought Jesus from the dead was poured out upon the Apostles, Luther says; and they proclaimed the Gospel to New Testament generations in the same way that Noah proclaimed it to his generation.¹⁵ This is certainly far-fetched. In fact, it is an utterly impossible rendering,

depending entirely on a conception of the human body as a prison house for the soul. Such a thought is quite foreign to the anthropology of Scriptures, where the body, just to take an instance, is spoken of as the temple of the Holy Spirit.

In passing, it must be noted that Augustine's basic tenet that "the spirits in prison" is an expression describing people still living in the darkness of ignorance lingered long in Lutheran theology. Johann Gerhard held it,¹⁶ as did von Hofmann, Dr. Stoeckhardt's teacher.¹⁷ Both believed that this whole section referred to Noah's activity among his contemporaries as "the preacher of righteousness."

In all fairness to Luther we must add here the fact that Veit Dietrich in his 1545 edition of Luther's commentary on Hosea makes him say: "Here [1 Peter 3:18 ff.] Peter says clearly that Christ appeared not only to the dead fathers and patriarchs, whom Christ in His resurrection no doubt raised with Himself to eternal life, but that He preached to some who at the time of Noah did not believe, but trusted in the patience of God, that is, who hoped God would not deal so severely with all flesh, in order that they might know that their sins were forgiven through the sacrifice of Christ. . . ." ¹⁸

It would be difficult to agree with the latter half of this statement, but the first part indicates that in the last years of his life Luther saw the *descensus* in the light of First Peter. That Luther changed his point of view with respect to this passage is confirmed by Melancthon's remark, from 1543, that Luther was disposed to think of Christ's preaching in Hades, referred to in First Peter, as having possibly effected also the salvation of the nobler heathen, such as Scipio and Fabius.¹⁹

For the inclusion of the heathen there is no Scriptural evidence unless the verb κηρύσσειν is taken to mean preaching the Gospel with a view to the salvation of the hearers. Such a procedure is very dubious in view of the rest of the verse. For that reason Lutheran theology, especially after the adoption of the Formula of Concord, returned to the view held by fourth-century theologians that the descent was the occasion of Christ's vanquishing death and hell,²⁰ without, however, committing itself on the matter of liberating Old Testament saints.

Just what spirits are meant here can perhaps best be determined if we first of all decide what is meant by φυλακή. It has been suggested that this word is a synonym of Hades, or Sheol, in their general significance of "the realm of the dead." However, there is no evidence whatsoever that φυλακή is to be understood in this general sense of the region of the departed souls. On the contrary, its use in the New Testament makes it imperative to think of "the prison" as the place where both the fallen angels and the spirits of unbelievers are kept under guard (cf. Rev. 18:2; 20:7). This view is supported by the use of ἄβυσσος in Rev. 9:1, 2, 11; 11:17; 17:8; 20:1, 3 and Luke 8:31, where ἄβυσσος is clearly the abode of the devils.

In other words, φυλακή must be distinguished, in the cosmology of the New Testament, from Hades in its general sense. It stands in contrast to Paradise, or "Abraham's bosom," to which the souls of the saints go at the time of death.²¹

In the present passage the "spirits in prison" are specifically described as those people who, at the time of Noah, refused to come to faith. These are the most lost of all; for they heard from Noah the words of grace and were shown the long-suffering of God while the ark was in the course of preparation. In this connection it is necessary to point out that ἀπειθήσασιν is an aorist participle. Combined with the little word ποτέ, it gets the force of a pluperfect. That is to say, the action described by this participle precedes the time of ἐκήρυξεν. This is what makes Luther's interpretation of this passage in his two commentaries on First Peter utterly impossible; namely, that the Spirit proclaimed the Gospel through the Apostles after Pentecost Day. For this section of First Peter clearly teaches that Christ descended to the region of the damned, to those who deliberately rejected God's grace in the time of Noah, in order to make proclamation to them.

We cannot conclude this discussion without one quick look at First Peter 4:6, which is, in modern commentaries, often taken to be an expansion of 1 Peter 3:18, 19.²² In that case 4:6 is taken to mean that Christ preached the Gospel (εὐηγγελίσθη) to the dead that they might live with God.²³

The relationship between these two portions of the epistle is sought mostly on the basis of the fact that in both the terms σαρκί

and πνεύματι are used. However, one of the basic principles of interpretation is that of considering the context of a given word or verse; and on that score the use of 4:6 to describe "the larger hope" becomes an exegetical monstrosity. For the Apostle has in the meantime gone on to quite a different subject. In the first verses of chapter 4 he has described the difference in his readers between their old way of life and their new conduct after Baptism. At that point he states very frankly that pagan society is at a loss to explain their new behavior. Its reaction is that of malicious criticism (βλασφημοῦντες). Within this context the Apostle reminds his readers that their detractors do not have the last word; for they will have to give an account to the Great Judge.

Now comes verse 6, which may be translated as follows: "For to this end the Gospel was proclaimed also to the dead that they might live with respect to the spirit in accordance with God's (will), although, according to men's yardstick, they came under judgment." The reference here is to the first generation of Christians in Asia Minor, to whom the Gospel was brought right after Pentecost (1 Peter 1:12; cf. Acts 2:9). They came under man's judgment and condemnation at times during their lifetime; but they had the Gospel proclaimed to them so they might move beyond such treatment to a life with that God who is "even now ready to judge both the living and the dead" (v. 5). The "dead" of verse 6 are therefore to be distinguished from "the spirits in prison" of 3:19. They are the saints that have died in the Lord, having belonged to the first generation of believers under the new covenant.

For this reason it is impossible to look to 4:6 for purposes of interpreting 3:18-20. The latter passage appears, in fact, in a digression, while the former constitutes the concluding argument in a section devoted to the problem of persecution.

By way of summary it may be said therefore that 1 Peter 3:18-29 quite evidently tells us that Christ, according to His glorified body, descended into hell to make proclamation there of Himself as the Messiah. This was the first step in His exaltation, by which He "disarmed principalities and dominions and displayed them openly, triumphing over them" through the cross (Col. 2:15).

St. Louis, Mo.

NOTES

1. August Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole* (Breslau, 1897), Par. 163, gives the reading as εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα. The Synod of Nice, in Thrace, in the same year adopted the following unusual version: εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης ἐτρόμασε (Hahn, Par. 164); The Synod of Constantinople, in 360, accepted the following statement: εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατεληλυθότα ὃν τινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄδης ἔπηξεν (Hahn, Par. 167).
2. *Ancient Christian Writers*, Vol. 20: "Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed," trans. J. N. D. Kelly (London, Newman Press, 1955), Note 98, p. 121. Cf. also the readings given under note 1, above.
3. As illustrated, for instance, in Tertullian's *De anima*.
4. F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Blackwell, 1947), p. 145.
5. *Institutes* of 1559, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, XXX, 376. 10.
6. As in Luke 16:23.
7. Bertheau in Herzog and Plitt, *Realenzyklopaedie*, I, 190. Agricola propounded the same view in his "Christliche Ethik" (cf. Loofs in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 656).
8. There the phrase reads: "nederstigen till dödsriket"; the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* has the following rubric above the Apostles' Creed: "And any Churches may, instead of the words, 'He descended into hell', use the words, 'He went into the place of the departed spirits,' which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed."
9. This sermon is found in the St. Louis ed., X, 1125—1132.
10. E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (Macmillan, 1955), p. 59.
11. St. Louis ed., IX, 1073, 1074. Two commentaries are ascribed to Luther, one from 1523, the other from 1539. They are given in the St. Louis ed., IX, 958—1110 and 1110—1297, respectively.
12. For instance, by E. G. Selwyn, p. 198 f.
13. This sentence occurs in both of his commentaries (cf. note 11, above).
14. In his *Letter to Euodius* (Migne, PL, xxxiii, 709—718).
15. St. Louis ed., IX, 1078.
16. In his commentary of 1641 (Jena), p. 496: "Christus in Spiritu temporibus antediluvianis per Noahum praedicavit."
17. Stoeckhardt, *Petribrief* (St. Louis, 1912), p. 149.
18. St. Louis ed., VI, 1224; the translation is that of Dr. John Th. Mueller in CTM, XVIII, p. 615.
19. *Corp. Ref.*, V, 58: "excitasse multos mortuos, et erudiisse fortassis praestantes omnium gentium viros, ut Scipionem, Fabium, et similes" (in a letter to Anthony Musa).
20. For instance, St. Cyril, *Cat.*, iv, 11—19.
21. Luke 16:22 and 23:43.
22. As, for example, in Selwyn, p. 337 f.
23. In his *Contra Apollinarium* (II, 15) Athanasius uses εὐαγγελίζεσθαι of the proclamation in Hades (Migne, PG, xxxvi, 1156 c).

Intertestamental Studies 1946—1955

By RAYMOND F. SURBURG

MODERN Biblical studies stress the importance of an acquaintance with the era between the Testaments as a necessary aid in understanding the New Testament. It is the time span from the Medo-Persian to the Roman period. Between these two epochs is the Grecian period. During these four centuries the seat of world empire moved from the East to the West, from Asia to Europe. These years witnessed the rise of cities with Greek names in Palestine and gave us the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. It was in the Grecian period that the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes arose and that the Sanhedrin came into being. At the beginning of this epoch the temple of Zerubbabel was the center of worship, but in the days of Jesus the temple of Herod had replaced it. Synagogues, so prominent in the New Testament, had their origin in intertestamental times. The fourteen Apocrypha are in part the products of these years. The two Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus are of great literary, historical, and religious importance, and their study should not be neglected by Biblical students. In this period God prepared the world for "the fullness of the time," when the Messiah would come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

This paper purposes to deal with some of the more important studies in the intertestamental field that have appeared since 1946. Its point of departure are the studies "Intertestamental Studies Since Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*" (J. Coert Rylaarsdam), "The Future of Intertestamental Studies" (Ralph Marcus), and "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research" (Harry Orlinsky), published by the Chicago Society for Biblical Research in *The Bible Today and Tomorrow*.¹

I

APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, APOCALYPSES

Students of the intertestamental period have recently been placed under great indebtedness to Robert Pfeiffer for his monumental *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction*

to the *Apocrypha*.² This volume meets a great need, for it is now more than sixty years since the appearance of Emil Schuerer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (1885 to 1891) and nearly a half century since the last German edition appeared (1901—1911). Pfeiffer's work is characterized by the same monumental proportions, the same encyclopedic learning, and the same clarity and incisiveness of expression that characterized his *Introduction to the Old Testament*.³ With rare skill and competence he draws on history, literature, philosophy, theology, and indispensable kindred disciplines. For example, the discussion of Hellenism, Hellenistic literature, science, scholarship, philosophy, and religion (pp. 93—165) are treated with an ease and sure-footed mastery that make this section one of the most fascinating as well as one of the most rewarding of the book. The myth of Osiris, the cults of Serapis and Isis, the Greek hymns, and Mithraism are admirably described. The Pseudepigrapha receive relatively slight attention, and apocalyptic thought, it would seem, is given less consideration than it deserves. The material, however, that is presented concerning the Pseudepigrapha is indispensable to their proper understanding. A comparison of Pfeiffer's work with Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*⁴ indicates that Pfeiffer was not influenced by Charles's extreme views on the composite nature of these books. In the opinion of Professor Muilenberg, Pfeiffer's view is in this respect much more satisfactory than the view of Charles.⁵ The student will find material and subjects in Schuerer that are absent or not treated as thoroughly in Pfeiffer's book. On the other hand, Pfeiffer offers much that Schuerer does not have. Above all, he brings the discussion up to date. Anyone who wishes to become well acquainted with the period from 200 B. C. to A. D. 200 cannot afford to leave this book unread and unstudied.

Pfeiffer also contributed "The Literature and Religion of the Apocrypha" and "The Literature and Religion of the Pseudepigrapha" to Volume I of *The Interpreter's Bible*.⁶

The last ten years have also witnessed the publication of separate volumes of the Apocrypha. Heretofore the English reader was limited almost entirely to the classical treatment by Charles.

To remedy this situation, Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia is sponsoring the publication of the series *Jewish Apocryphal Literature*.⁷ Thus far *First and Second Maccabees* (Vols. 1 and 4 of the series, 1950 and 1954) by Solomon Zeitlin and Sidney Tedesche, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (Vol. 2, 1951), and *Third and Fourth Books of the Maccabees* (Vol. 3, 1953), both by Moses Hadas of Columbia University, have been issued. Two European scholars have also published commentaries on the books of the Maccabees. J. C. Dancy, a British scholar, issued a commentary on *First Maccabees*.⁸ Unlike Zeitlin and Tedesche, Dancy has given his own interpretation of the recorded events, correcting the biased point of view of the original author. According to Dancy, Antiochus Epiphanes is not a persecutor, but a sincere Hellenist who found himself in a difficult situation. The other European scholar, Father R. P. F. Abel, author of the standard two-volume *Geographie de la Palestine*, published *Les Livres des Maccabees* in 1949.⁹ A comparison of Zeitlin and Abel will reveal differences merely in the French translation, which is almost identical with the translation of the Dropsie College edition. First Maccabees, originally written in Hebrew, is extant only in a Greek translation. In many instances the translator apparently either misread or misunderstood the Hebrew. Abel, according to Zeitlin, has shown remarkable insight in restoring the original Hebrew reading.

Recent volumes of *Herders Bibelkommentar*, a Roman Catholic commentary, are devoted to the apocryphal books Tobit, Judith, and Baruch.¹⁰ Brückers, one of the contributors, concedes that Tobit and Judith are based on an historical nucleus, though many embellishments are added by the original writers. This view coincides with the opinion of Robert who contends that "Tobias is an historical account, the basic facts of which were developed and embellished by a long tradition" and that the Book of Judith "has picked up an historical tradition of this time and has presented it rather freely."¹¹ The discovery among the Qumran Scrolls of Hebrew and Aramaic fragments of Tobit is certain to stimulate a renewed interest in this book, which may result in satisfactory solutions of some of its many difficulties.

W. K. L. Clarke's one-volume *Concise Bible Commentary* (Macmillan, 1953) has an entire section devoted to the Apocrypha. In addition to an article of introduction each book is treated separately.

Norman Johnson wrote *Prayer in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Study of the Jewish Concept of God* (Volume II of *The Journal of Biblical Literature Series*).¹² A review of the aims, inducements, and responses connected with the prayers of the intertestamental period reveals some confusion and inconsistency in Jewish thought concerning God. There is, however, unanimity on certain basic tenets, such as the omnipotence of God.

George Foot Moore's *Judaism* appeared in 1927, and his view on Jewish apocalypses has been widely accepted by Christian scholars. He contends that they are to be considered only as "extraneous sources" for normative Judaism and that "it is a fallacy of method for the historian to make them a primary source for the eschatology of Judaism, much more to contaminate its theology with them." In *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud* (1941) Louis Ginzberg confirms Moore's judgment. Joshua Block, in *On the Apocalyptic in Judaism* (*Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series*, No. II), re-examined the validity of this position.¹³ It is his conviction that although there is little, if any, conscious dependence on apocalyptic material in the rabbinic sources, he finds considerable evidence of apocalyptic ideas and even allusions and unconscious quotations from the literature taken up into the body of rabbinic and later Jewish Christian literature. Referring to the realm of angelology, demonology, eschatological schemes, the figure of the Messianic banquet, and the idea of a heavenly Book of Life, to enumerate just a few, Block contends that distinctive apocalyptic ideas are found in the main stream of Jewish sources. Three articles of the October 1948 issue of *Interpretation* treated the subject of apocalypticism.¹⁴ In his contribution E. F. Scott characterizes it as "the natural language of religion," asserting: "The literature in the Intertestamental period had almost completely disappeared, but much of it has been recovered, in whole or in part, within recent years, and most scholars are now agreed that it provides the key to a great deal that is perplexing in the Gospel message."¹⁵ Prof. John Wick Bowman, in *The Religion of Maturity*, the 1948

Abingdon-Cokesbury \$7,500 prize winner, lists apocalypticism as one of five religions through which the Jewish nation passed. He terms the religion of the apocalypticists as the religion of the throne. In Bowman's opinion the apocalyptic movement was sterile. He accuses it of being inherently other-worldly, pessimistic, ego-centric, esoteric, and divisive—the product of ethical defeatism and a superiority complex.¹⁶ The latest book to deal with this subject is the publication of S. B. Frost, *Old Testament Apocalyptic: Its Origin and Growth*.¹⁷

II

SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

The last decade has also produced some significant studies in the field of Septuagint research. Roberts has given probably the latest and most complete discussion of the relationship of the Septuagint to the Hebrew Old Testament text.¹⁸ He claims that it is a misconception to look upon the Septuagint simply as a storehouse for possible emendations, which only need be retranslated into Hebrew. In his opinion the versions, including the Septuagint, are corrupt. It is important that each reading in the Septuagint be scrutinized for its own possible historical development.¹⁹ The value of the Greek translation varies from book to book, from chapter to chapter, and sometimes from phrase to phrase. According to Orlinsky, "the Hebrew text used by the Septuagint translators and the Masoretic text are two recensions (critical revisions) of one original text tradition."²⁰ Students of the Septuagint are frequently at a loss which reading to adopt when they note the textual divergencies found in the four major editions in use today (Swete, Rahlfs, Cambridge, and Göttingen). The first three depend largely upon the *Codex Vaticanus*, while the last is an eclectic text. Of *Codex Vaticanus*, Roberts asserts: "The more we learn of the characteristics of the codex, the less likely does it appear to be a faithful reproduction of the earliest Septuagint text-form."²¹

The Letter of Aristeas (ca. 110 B. C.) purports to be an account of the way in which the Old Testament was translated into Greek by seventy-two learned elders from Palestine for the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—247 B. C.). A new translation and a discussion of this letter was published by Hadas of Columbia

University.²² He believes that Aristeas is a pseudonym and that the author was a Jew, thoroughly Hellenized, but faithful to his religion. It was the purpose of the Letter to Aristeas to demonstrate the high antiquity and respectability of Judaism and to enhance the position of the Jews in their Hellenistic environment. The value of the Letter of Aristeas is that in it the term Pentateuch was first applied to the five books of Moses. Orlinsky has revived the view that the extension of the name Pentateuch to include the entire Greek Bible took place in Judea because of some popular association with the "seventy elders" mentioned in Ex. 24:1, 9, or with the Sanhedrin of Seventy, or in Christian circles in connection with seventy disciples of Jesus, Luke 10:1.²³

In the Schweich Lectures for 1947 Kahle took the position that there were two earlier Greek translations of the Pentateuch.²⁴ A revision was made in the time of Philadelphus, which then was considered the standard Greek text of the Pentateuch. Kahle further contends that there never existed one archetype text of the Greek Old Testament as held by many Septuagint scholars. He believed that when the Christian Church needed one canonical text, the church chose one from a number of variants and revised it.

This view is opposed to that of Paul de Lagarde, who according to Gehman "saw the problems involved and the correct methodology for recovering the text of the original LXX."²⁵ The Jewish scholar Max Leopold Margolis employed the Lagardian principles in attempting a reconstruction of the Septuagint in his *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (1931). J. Montgomery successfully applied the methods of Lagarde in his commentary on the Book of Kings.²⁶ The principles followed by Lagarde and Rahlfs in their Septuagint studies were recently defended by P. Katz in two articles.²⁷

Although the Septuagint is considered by many scholars a representative of a pre-Masoretic Hebrew text and therefore a valuable textual aid, American scholars have emphasized the necessity of observing the methods of translation employed by the Septuagint translators. Often in the same chapter an extreme literalism is found next to a free translation. Definite exegetical and theological principles influenced the translators. In many instances, e. g., certain expressions used of God, deemed offensive or crude,

were toned down, and anthropomorphisms were eliminated. Sometimes this was accomplished by employing the device of playing with Hebrew roots. Nevertheless the studies of Gehman,²⁸ Gard,²⁹ and Wevers³⁰ have disclosed that the translators did not set out to rewrite the original, and while their exegetical principles do show a certain theological tendency, they did not apply them consistently.

The publishers of the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, provided with an extensive critical apparatus, have in recent years released two additional parts, both by J. Ziegler: Vol. XVI, 1: *Ezekiel* (1952) and Vol. XVI, 2: *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* (1954).

A new periodical, published by Brill in Leyden and known as *Vetus Testamentum*, has been appearing since 1951. Some articles of this magazine deal with the Greek Old Testament. Gehman has contributed two that treat of the linguistic aspect of the Septuagint.³¹

III

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE ESSENES

During the last decade students of intertestamental studies have been presented with important documents in the form of scrolls and fragments found in caves near the Wady Qumran, in the vicinity of the Dead Sea,³² and in the region of Wady Murabba'at,³³ located to the south of Qumran. Nine caves in this area have yielded signal finds of leather and papyrus documents. Of these caves the most important are Caves One and Four, the latter producing the most significant material.

The first group of Dead Sea Scrolls, or Qumran Scrolls, as they are now called, comprises a collection of 11 or 12 rolls of ancient manuscripts, discovered in the spring of 1947. When first found they were described as being of revolutionary importance for Biblical and related studies. The scrolls are all from the second and first centuries B.C. with the possible exception of the Holiness Code, which may be earlier.³⁴ The Qumran manuscripts are important for the fields of textual criticism, the interpretation of the Old Testament, paleography, archaeology, the intertestamental and New Testament periods.

The contents of Cave One from Qumran, including the excavated material of 1949, have now been published. The great Isaiah scroll (1Q Isa^a), the Essene *Manual of Discipline*, and the *Commentary of Habakkuk* were published by the American Schools of Oriental Research.³⁵ The materials of Cave One, acquired by the Hebrew University in new Jerusalem, were published in 1954 under the Hebrew title: *Oscar ham-Megillot hag-Genuzot* (Library of Hidden Rolls).³⁶ Those of Cave One, belonging to the Jordan government, have been made available by D. Barthelmy and J. Milik in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*.³⁷ They contain Biblical books, two important missing columns of the *Manual of Discipline*, other sectarian works, and assorted apocryphal and pseudepigraphical material.

With the excavation of the Wady Murabba'at caves, another series of discoveries was initiated. Unlike the Qumran discoveries, the scope of these finds is from the seventh century B.C. to the second century B.C. Those coming from the second pre-Christian century are Hebrew and Greek Biblical manuscripts.³⁸

The newly found documents shed light on an ascetic and apocalyptic sect within Judaism, which is said to have had its origin in the pious party of the Hasidim of the period of national revival in the second century B.C. As a separatist party of Judaism it appears in the early Hasmonean period. Pliny reports such a community in the vicinity of the Dead Sea between Jericho and Ain Geddi. Both Philo and Josephus were impressed by this sect, called Essenes. They had cells in many of the villages of Judah and maintained a center in the desert south of Jericho, as archaeological diggings of the last four seasons have shown. Their communal life lasted till the destruction of Jerusalem A.D. 70. After the Jewish revolt of A.D. 67—70 they disappeared. They were either assimilated with Christian communities or destroyed by the Romans.

With the discovery of the *Habakkuk Commentary* and the *Manual of Discipline*, the history and beliefs of the Essenes can be studied in a manner not heretofore possible. The Qumran Scrolls have helped to establish the fact that two fragmentary manuscripts found in the old synagogue in Cairo, generally known as the Zadokite or Damascus Covenant, come from the same sect

as the documents found in the caves near the Dead Sea.³⁹ In addition, many new historical commentaries, along with several copies of Zadokite and sectarian documents, have been found in Cave Four. It is believed that the publication and the study of the latter materials will solve many disputed points. "In the meantime, however, scholars are sending up trial balloons, theoretical constructions and tentative interpretations, which properly belong to the early stages of scholarly investigation. Only after scholarly debate can tested and sound historical conclusions be established in so complex a field."⁴⁰

One of the first scholars to interpret the new finds and relate them to the former knowledge of the Essenes was Dupont-Sommer, who set forth his views in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*⁴¹ and *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*.⁴² According to this scholar, "The Teacher of Righteousness" of this sect lived in the days of the Hasmoneans, between 100 B.C. and the reign of Aristobulus II, 67—63 B.C., and died a martyr's death at the hands of this king. In an extraordinary fashion he was a prototype of the "Galilean Master" of the Christians. "The Teacher of Righteousness" taught the Essenes that the last days were imminent; he ordained his followers as the community of the New Covenant. In his teaching he stressed "repentance, poverty, humility, love of neighbor, and chastity." The meaning of the Law and the Prophets was disclosed by "the Teacher of Righteousness" to his flock. When he died, his followers believed that he would return as the Messiah. Dupont-Sommer even believed that the Suffering Servant passages of Isaiah were composed in his memory. According to this reconstruction, the *Habakkuk Commentary* is supposed to refer to a "resurrection appearance" of "the Teacher of Righteousness" which took place when Pompey conquered Jerusalem. Thus the death of the Essenes at the hands of Aristobulus was avenged.

Professor Frank M. Cross has subjected this thesis of Dupont-Sommer to severe scrutiny and has shown that the conclusions of the French scholar cannot be substantiated. He concludes: "In fine, the theories of Dupont-Sommer cannot stand up as the field of scroll studies progresses and as new documents are introduced into the discussion."⁴³ Other scholars are convinced that while the Essenes

had their origin prior to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, it was especially during the latter's rule that the events occurred which gave the sect its definitive form.

The documents from the Judean wilderness also have some importance for the field of Biblical hermeneutics. Although some of the midrashim (Rabbinic commentaries) were committed to writing in the second and third centuries A.D., most of them come to us in written form from the fifth to the seventh centuries A.D. Scholars believe that the Rabbinical material in the Targumim sheds light on Jewish interpretation of the Law as it was prevalent in the first two pre-Christian centuries.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls gave access for the first time to Hebrew manuscripts from the first half of the first century B.C. Regarding them Brownlee writes: "These bear witness, not merely to the great importance attached to the study of Scriptures, but also to the technique of Biblical interpretation among the ancient Jews."^{43a} In the same article he discusses the importance of the Essene scrolls for Biblical interpretation and outlines the hermeneutical principles used in the Dead Sea *Habakkuk Commentary*.⁴⁴ In another contribution he demonstrates that the Damascus Document, found in the old synagog in Cairo, and the Dead Sea Scrolls come from the same sect. It is Brownlee's conviction, however, that the sect with whom the Dead Sea Scrolls had their origin cannot be identified with the Therapeutae, whose religious views and practices were discussed by Philo in his tractate: "On the Contemplative Life."⁴⁵

The discoveries of Qumran have also raised new problems concerning the relationship of the Septuagint text to the Masoretic. Manuscripts found in Cave Four at Qumran revealed a text of Samuel which is widely at variance with that of the Masoretic text and agrees not infrequently with the text of the Old Greek of Samuel. Other historical books also favor the tradition of the Septuagint. Thus Cross asserts:

At least in these books it now becomes clear that the Septuagint's divergent text was due far less to "translation idiosyncrasies" than to the archaic form of text which it translated. In six fragments of the archaic Samuel, for example, the Septuagint is followed thirteen times when the Greek disagrees with the Massoretic tra-

dition against four cases when the Qumran text agrees with the Massoretic tradition against the Septuagint: three to one in favor of the Greek tradition. The question of which text is original is another question, to be decided in individual readings. The point is, however, that while we had previously only one clear line leading back toward the original text, we now have *three* converging lines: the Massoretic tradition, the Qumran tradition, and the Hebrew tradition underlying the Old Testament translation.⁴⁶

Intertestamental scholars are likewise of the opinion that the non-Biblical literature among the Dead Sea Scrolls will add to the knowledge of the religious thought and history of Judaism 200 years before Jesus' birth, shedding fresh light on the background of the New Testament. Cross devotes the last of his four articles dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls, written for the *Christian Century*, to a listing and discussion of numerous parallels between the New Testament and the writings of the Essenes. Toward the end of this article he asserts:

The New Testament and Essene writers draw on common resources of language, common theological themes and concepts, and share common religious institutions. They breathe the same atmosphere, confront the same problems. We can now enter into this rich, variegated world of sectarian Judaism in the first century with new boldness and understanding; the strange world of the New Testament becomes less baffling, less exotic.⁴⁷

Lucetta Mowry has dealt specifically with the relationship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Gospel of St. John, the author of which is supposed to have borrowed from a system of religious thought that has affinities with the Essene movement, radically altering, however, the ideas accepted by him.⁴⁸ According to Brownlee, the Qumran Scrolls validate the Fourth Gospel as an authentic source concerning John the Baptist. Brownlee says that John the Baptist was acquainted with the Essenes, probably spending his childhood in the wilderness in their care. "Almost every detail of the Baptist's teaching in both Synoptic and Fourth Gospels has points of contact with Essene belief, so that we are led not to place the Gospels in conflict and to choose between them, but to see them as fragmentary bits of information which are essentially supplemental in character."⁴⁹

IV

HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

What was the relationship of Judaism to the Hellenistic movement? Paul Liebermann of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, dealt with this question in his book, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmissions, Beliefs, and Manners of Palestine in the First Century B. C. E. to IV Century C. E.*⁵⁰ Morton Smith has labeled Liebermann's study the most important investigation of Graeco-Roman Judaism to have appeared in years. This work musters much evidence to prove that Rabbinic literature shows considerable familiarity with Graeco-Roman customs and terminology. The body of the study endeavors to demonstrate the influence exerted by Graeco-Roman culture on the preservation and interpretation of the Old Testament and on the temple. To summarize briefly some of Liebermann's conclusions: The Soferim of the Persian and early Greek period produced a standard text of the Old Testament by comparing the manuscripts and following the readings of the majority. Of this text they produced an official copy and placed it in the temple. Their effort, however, was not recognized and appreciated by the people, who continued to employ a corrupt text. The Soferim, like the Alexandrian grammarians, made certain changes in the text, but because of their greater reverence for the material, they were more conservative than the Alexandrians. Later on the scribes came under the influence of Alexandria, as may be seen from the methods and terminology adopted from the Alexandrians. Haggadic methods of Scriptural interpretation show pagan influence in the adoption of the fantastic procedures of using the gematria and notarikon as hermeneutical devices. The names and terminology of interpretation testify to a strong Greek influence at some time around A. D. 100. Liebermann also claims that the old antithesis between diasporic and Palestinian Judaism was overstated in the past; in fact, it is actually misleading. Palestinian and Rabbinic Judaism was "involved in a continual give and take with Graeco-Roman culture."

It is forty-six years since Joseph Klausner's great *History of Israel* appeared in Odessa. He rewrote the second part of this

history and expanded it to three times its original size, so that now his *History of the Second Temple*, written in Hebrew, is complete in five volumes.⁵¹ It covers the period from the death of Josiah in 609 B. C. to the fall of Masada in A. D. 73. The presentation is not restricted to political history but covers social, religious, literary, and cultural developments. Sixty pages are devoted to Jesus and over forty pages to the Apostolic Church. This work embodies the results of nearly half a century of research.

Professor Baron has published the first two volumes of his revised and enlarged history of Judaism, which, when complete, will cover Jewish history from its beginnings with the patriarchs until the close of the Talmudic period, about A. D. 500. Baron contends that scholars in seeking the Jewish antecedents of the Christian Church ought to give more attention to Diaspora Judaism and the organization of its communities.⁵²

V

PHILO STUDIES

Rylaarsdam maintains that every fresh insight into the life and thought of Philo sheds light upon the entire intertestamental period. Ralph Marcus has contributed two additional volumes to the Philo edition of the Loeb Classical Library. They bear the title *Philo Supplement: Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus Translated from Ancient Armenian Sources*. This work of Philo is preserved only in Armenian and has become available for the first time in an English translation.

In 1948 Professor Wolfson of Harvard published a two-volume work on Philo with the subtitle: *Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. The chief significance of this work lies in the positive presentation of Philo's system of thought. Wolfson did not undertake a detailed criticism of current interpretations of Philo, although the reader will have no difficulty in ascertaining his position. He asserts that Philo, by introducing into philosophy the principle of revelation as found in the Scriptures, was the first to give this principle systematic formulation. According to Wolfson, Philo was the founder of a new school of philosophy, and from "him it directly passes on to the Gospel of John and the Church Fathers, from whom it passes to Moslem

and hence also to Medieval Jewish philosophy, which continues uninterruptedly in its main assertions for well-nigh seventeen centuries, when at last it is openly challenged by Spinoza.”⁵³ Wolfson further questions the generally accepted view that Philo was an eclectic philosopher, borrowing almost indiscriminately from Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and others in order to mediate the Jewish Scriptures to the Graeco-Roman world by means of allegory. Philo, he contends, was a philosopher in the grand manner, who controlled contemporary philosophy by his Scriptural principles.

VI

PALESTINIAN JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

A number of studies have been published during the last decade that are concerned with Judaism, and particularly first-century Judaism. Professor Davies examined the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and Rabbinical sources concerning the role that the Law was expected to play in the Messianic age.⁵⁴ Among other things the importance of the notions of covenant, Moses, and (new) Exodus in the eschatology of Judaism is stressed. Davies comes to the following conclusions: The Old Testament and Jewish writings portray a strong conviction that in the Messianic age the Torah would take a central place. Whether or not the Messiah was to bring a new Torah cannot definitely be ascertained. The position among Christians of a new Law in the Sermon on the Mount resulted in the formulation of counterclaims among the Jews. It is possible that the stress upon Law in later Judaic writings, at the expense of the idea of the covenant, is a reaction to the Christian appropriation of the idea of the covenant.

Morton Smith's thesis submitted for his doctorate at the University of Jerusalem dealt with parallels in Tannaitic literature and the Gospels.⁵⁵ In eight compact chapters Smith examines the “verbal parallels” of the two literatures, comparing the influence of Hebrew usage upon the Gospels and of Greek upon Tannaitic literature. Concerning Jesus, Smith asserts:

A likely inference would be that Jesus occupied in the minds of the authors of the Gospels much the same place as God and the Law occupied in the minds of the authors of Tannaitic literature. But to make such an inference would involve an act of historical

faith, for to pass from observable similarity of words to the hypothetical similarity of ideas which the words may have been meant to express is to pass from the knowable to the unknown.⁵⁶

On the basis of his study of the "parallels of idiom" Smith discusses the question of the authority of the Gospels. As a result of his examination of *κοινός* in Mark 7:2, 5, he concludes that this passage shows "not the ignorance of the translator, but the author's technical accuracy in preserving the nice distinction of Pharisaic rules about cleanness of food—an accuracy which reflects the popular importance such rules acquired in Primitive Christianity."⁵⁷ In the light of this he takes issue with Torrey's Aramaic translation theory and argues the possibility that Jesus spoke Hebrew at least in discussions with the Pharisees or that the Gospels contain passages that go back to documents composed originally in Hebrew.⁵⁸

Volume II of Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, previously referred to in this paper, contains two chapters of interest to students of apostolic Christianity—"The Great Schism" and "The Closing of the Ranks." According to Baron, the schism, which separated Judaism from Christianity, was Paul's responsibility rather than that of Jesus. The earliest Christianity was a "purely eschatological Palestinian community." In this stage "the movement was hardly more than a sectarian current within Judaism, no more apart, for instance, than the Essenes."⁵⁹ Joseph Klausner's history of *The Messianic Ideal in Israel, From Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, written in Hebrew, has been translated by Stinespring.⁶⁰

Jesus is the subject of studies by a number of Jewish scholars. One of these studies is Morris Goldstein's *Jesus in Jewish Tradition*, in which a systematic historic account of the direct and indirect references to Jesus in Talmudic and post-Talmudic literature is presented.⁶¹ In the Tannaitic period (from Ezra the Scribe to A. D. 200) there are a few scant references to Jesus. Goldstein refutes the view of Herford and Laible that the "Balaam" and "Ben Stada" passages contain allusions to Jesus.^{61a} In the Tannaitic period, Jesus is referred to as "Ben Pantera," or "Ben Pandera." It is related that one Yeshu (Jesus) was hanged on the Eve of Passover. He was accused of sorcery and of leading Israel astray. Forty days were allowed between the date of accusation and the

time of hanging. He is said to have had five disciples. All of them are listed, but their names do not correspond to those mentioned in the Gospels. Yeshu was supposed to have been a disciple of Rabbi Yehoshua ben Perahya, an uncle of Jesus. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene are also confused. The description of none of these characters corresponds to the Gospel accounts.

Another Hebrew scholar to deal with Jesus is Jacob Lauterbach, whose essay "Jesus in the Talmud,"⁶² is nearly one hundred pages in length. The third essay in *The Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities*, Volume I, has as its theme: "Judaism, Jesus, and Paul: Some Problems in Scholarly Research." The author of this article, Professor Spear, believes that the center of gravity of New Testament studies needs shifting. For proper interpretation of the Gospels an understanding of the Graeco-Jewish writers, Philo, Aristaeas, and Aristobulus, together with the background of the Hellenism of the non-Jewish world, is essential.

A work which would aid the student in following Spear's suggestion is that edited by Louis Finkelstein: *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion*. The articles of special interest to students of the intertestamental period would be: "The Historical Foundations of Post-Biblical Judaism," by Elias J. Bickermann; "The Period of the Talmud (135 B.C.—1035)," by Judah Goldin, and "Hellenistic Jewish Literature," by Ralph Marcus.⁶³

The French Roman Catholic scholar Joseph Bonsirven has issued a collection of Rabbinical texts which help one to understand the materials of the New Testament.⁶⁴ The journal *Interpretation*, which had its inception in 1947, offered its readers two articles on the use of Rabbinic writings as implements of interpretation.⁶⁵ Concerning the use of Rabbinical writings, Bowman says: "The student should go to them, therefore, not for the refinements in interpretation of the text of Scripture, but rather for orientation to the Rabbinic viewpoint and for background materials against which to view the rise of the early Christian movement." In his article he lists a great many passages which he believes will furnish background for the understanding of Christianity.⁶⁶

Hugh Schonfield, a British Jew, authored a book about Paul the Apostle.⁶⁷ In contrast to Rabbi Klausner's books about Jesus and Paul,⁶⁸ Schonfield says that "Jesus is for me the Messiah" and

that Paul was very much the kind of Jew he is. By comparison with Klausner, Schonfield seems to approach Christianity, although he rejects the Trinity and several post-Pauline theological developments. While Klausner portrays Paul as going astray in terms of normative Judaism, Schonfield holds that Paul remained a good Jew to his end.

Another British book concerned with Paul is the one by George Knight, *From Jesus to Paul*.⁶⁹ This work endeavors to deal with the tragic breach between Judaism and Christianity and to give suggestions for healing it. Both Judaism and Christianity have a common world of life and faith and derive their sustenance from the same fountain, the Old Testament. According to Knight, the great error of Christianity was that it turned from its Hebrew heritage to that of the Greeks. Hellenism was responsible for falsifying the revelation the Christian Church received through Israel. He also discovers in the first Christian century the norm for authentic Judaism and authentic Christianity. Judaism and Christianity erred in forsaking the faith of this period.

The first volume of Father F. Abel's *History of Palestine* will prove to be invaluable for students of the intertestamental period. This portion of the Frenchman's work deals with the period from the conquest of Alexander the Great until the Jewish War.⁷⁰ The eminent Dominican savant has studied the history, archaeology, and topography of the period covering a thousand years between Alexander the Great and the Arab invasion, producing a work which will be the standard for years to come.

Seward, Nebr.

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Studies on Free Texts from the Old Testament

OCULI, THE THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT

PSALM 77:7-15

The Text and Its Central Thought.—The Psalmist sits in the midst of his trials and is utterly cast down. He looks to God, but finds nothing except additional reason for despair, because he looks at God through his problems. Then faith comes to the fore, and the Psalmist regards God according to His revelation. Thus he is able to exult that God's way, which also includes the Psalmist's trials, is holy. The conclusion, then, is obvious, also with regard to what the Psalmist is experiencing at the time.

The Day and Its Theme.—Through the Introit, Collect, and Gradual, the day becomes a cry to God out of the midst of man's ongoing need and man's special needs as they arise. According to the Epistle we were sometime darkness, but now are we light in the Lord because we know God revealed; we walk as children of light when we walk by the faith which the revelation calls for. The Gospel emphasizes: "Blessed are they that hear the Word of God and keep it." Unless we believe in the Word, we end up where the Pharisees did, our hearts are not yet conquered by the Stronger, and our emptiness of faith makes us fit habitations for the unclean spirit's return with his cohorts. Not yet with Christ, we are against Him. God's mercy is greater than our trials, but in no sense is this perfectly obvious. It can be known only by the revelation of God, the Word of God, and by guarding or keeping it as our only means of knowing God.

The Goal and Purpose of the Sermon.—That we, as members of the body of Christ, grow in holiness. This does not mean primarily the superior moral behavior which we habitually term holiness, but growth in faith, and we grow in faith as we learn to know God better as He truly is, not as we imagine Him to be.

Sin to Be Diagnosed and Remedied.—The basis of all sin for those who are members of the body of Christ is doubt, doubt as it forsakes the revelation of God and sits in its lonely vigils attempting to understand and fathom God's will, even His love, by the trials that ring us round. The only remedy is to see God as He makes Himself known in Jesus Christ. If God has redeemed us (v. 15) at so great a cost to Himself, then surely no one and nothing can separate us from the

love of God which is in Christ Jesus. See that your doubt and your despair are your infirmity, a personal weakness by which you imagine that God's right hand has changed (v. 10). See God as He has made Himself known, and you will recover faith's deeper insight (vv. 11-15).

Opportunities for Explicit Gospel.—Actually this whole text revolves about the very heart of the Gospel, that God, our Redeemer, is nothing but Love to us, though our problems (vv. 7—10) rise up to becloud His never-failing, never-changing grace. Vv. 11-15 should be a development of the Gospel, for, without allegorizing, "the works of the Lord" should be remembered, and God's works of grace are much more evident to us in Christ than they were to the Psalmist. "God's wonders of old" have been surpassed by what they hinted at, the great and mighty wonder of God's Son, our Savior; meditate and talk of these things that you may know God's way as holy. Even in the weakness of our infirmities He does wonders and declares His strength, because He is the God who by His mighty arm, Jesus Christ, has redeemed His people.

Illustrations and New Testament Parallels.—Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane with His faith in the will of God, though it meant anguish beyond our imagining; Paul with his thorn in the flesh and the final faith in grace as being all-sufficient; Rom. 8:21-39; 1 Peter 1:7-9; Heb. 12:1ff.

Outline

Introductory Thought: The easy enthusiasm of the woman at the close of today's Gospel is corrected by Jesus as He points out what is the true blessedness. It is the true blessedness to this day, because when we are something less than enthusiastic, even down in the dumps and despair, then especially do we need to hear the Word of God and hold on for dear life. That Word of God in our text would have us realize that only God Himself can work in us faith to cry out:

Thy Way, O God, Is Holy (v. 13)

- I. The Psalmist sees aright when he sees that our life is God's way, that it is in God's right hand, that every last part of it is to be related to God. This is implicit in vv. 7-10 and is contrary to the modernistic, secularistic, materialistic view of life; it is also contrary to all easygoing Christianity that is only a Sunday or holiday affair.
- II. The Psalmist sees wrong when in those very same verses he permits his personal sufferings to becloud the grace of God. We will never find God, the true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

by peering through the dark clouds which our problems cast about Him.

III. God's way is holy (vv. 11-15)

- A. All of God's dealings have but a single purpose, our sanctification.
- B. Our problems must be looked at through God's way, and not God's way looked at through our problems. This is the exercise of faith, and walking by faith is the true holiness that God seeks in us.
- C. This can be known and believed only on the basis of what God has revealed of Himself
 1. In Christ Jesus (v. 15);
 2. In all His works and wonders and manifested might (vv. 11-15).

Conclusion: Begin where the Psalmist finally arrived, and at all times meditate upon the greatness of God's love and the marvels of His mercies in Christ Jesus, and your faith will be faith that is faith indeed, faith that overcomes the world, faith that believes not because of anything in our lives, but in spite of everything in our lives, and purely and simply because of God as we know Him in His Word.

Minneapolis, Minn.

WILLIAM A. BUEGE

LAETARE, THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT

EXODUS 16:4-9

The Text and Its Central Thought.—V. 4: A month and a half after the Exodus, after the miraculous deliverance from Pharaoh and another miraculous provision of water at Marah, the Children of Israel arrived in the Wilderness of Sin. Here the populace grumbled against Moses and Aaron, charging that they who had enjoyed the food of Egypt were about to die of hunger in the desert. Now the Lord makes the promise to Moses that He "will rain bread from heaven," which the people might gather according to ration to prove whether they were obedient to His law or not.—V. 5: On the sixth day they would gather bread for two days. This provision was according to the Sabbath law (vv. 23, 26). The communication in vv. 5 and 6 is very brief, and Moses and Aaron give it in fuller form in the subsequent address to the people.—V. 6: Moses and Aaron communicate God's message to the people. God's provision would help the Israelites to

know that God is the God who brought them out of Egypt.—V. 7: Each evening and morning would demonstrate the glory of God to the people; they would be able, in this provision of food, to see the great God at work. It is God who will do this; for the murmurings of the people were really against Him, not just against Moses and Aaron.—V. 8: Moses continues the explanation, attaching to the words of v. 7, "Then ye shall see the glory of the Lord." Actually the provision of food would be both flesh (quails, v. 13) at evening and bread (the manna, vv. 14, 15) in the morning, both of them the demonstration of the power of God ("glory" in that sense, rather than praise). God's reason for doing this is to rebuke the murmuring and unbelief of the Israelites, which is really an affront to God and not just to Moses and Aaron.—V. 9: Moses told Aaron to assemble the people for a special announcement. This God Himself gave from the cloud which had marked His presence with them in their desert pilgrimage. The promise of food is given now a third time from the direct communication of God, through Moses, vv. 11, 12.—This much of a review of the text yields the sermon theme, "God provides daily food to remind His people that they belong to Him."

The Day and Its Theme.—Laetare has been assumed to be a Sunday of good cheer in the midst of the penitence of Lent. Actually the Sundays in Lent are still Sundays, with the note of redemption and release strongly pervading them all. And Laetare is not hilarious or merely exuberant. The Gospel is the Feeding of the Five Thousand. But the Epistle brings the indictment of work-righteousness under the allegory of Sarah and Hagar in Galatians 4; and the rejoicing to which the Introit summons is that which is coupled with mourning for God's judgment. The theme of the day's worship can be summarized, "God's supply is our unfailing joy." The theme for the month in *Parish Activities* is neutral with regard to the theme ("Growing in Holiness"), but it may well supply individual applications or illustrations for the particular material of the text.

New Testament Parallels and Illustrations.—The Gospel for the Day is the obvious New Testament counterpart of the quail and manna—simple food applied to simple everyday need, but through divine purpose. For Jesus in John 6 the purpose was indeed to "manifest forth His glory" as He had done under simpler circumstances at Cana (John 2:11), and cause men to realize that He is the Messiah (John 6:14). But at once Jesus had to direct these same men to a truer understanding of His Messiahship, and His discourse on the Bread of Life (John 6:26-58) makes use of the reference which His

questioners made concerning the manna in order to make clear that God Himself through Jesus was giving them food for a heavenly and not just an earthly life. Through the insight given by John 6 we can arrive at the distinctive and helpful central thought: "God provides daily food to remind His people that He provides also heavenly food." This theme is possible without allegorizing or typical application by stressing the great intention of God in the provision even of daily food.

Sins to Be Diagnosed.—The grumbling and murmuring of the people (v. 3) is the surface demonstration—disgust with daily provision and fear of the future—of the underlying malady of unbelief and rejection of God's purpose and promise. Keil-Delitzsch quotes Luther: "It was deep unbelief that they had thus fallen back, letting go the word and promise of God and forgetting His former miracles and aid." Actually this sin occurs on two levels: the text and its fretting at insufficient food; or John 6 and its assumption that the food for the body is the only food to be concerned about. Both are a repudiation of God and His plan and promise that we should fulfill His eternal purposes in this world and that which is to come.

Opportunities for Explicit Gospel.—A simple device is to discuss the Old Testament manna, and then on the basis of John 6:35 discuss Jesus as the Bread of Life. This loses the opportunity, however, on the basis of Exodus 16 to preach Gospel to remedy the particular sin of unbelief set forth in this text. Cues for such preaching are given in God's plan to prove His people whether they walk in His Law (v. 4), and particularly in the portrayal of the glory of God. Even the daily provision of food is that glory, that steadfast demonstration of the purpose and plan of God that His people serve Him and represent Him. If even food and drink can so set forth God's glory to the instructed believer; how much more the Word made flesh, in whom the glory of God is made wholly manifest and we are redeemed to serve the living God forever! To this point the words of Jesus, John 6:38-40, 49-58, pertain directly.

Outline

God Provides Daily Food to Remind His People that He Provides
Also Heavenly Food (Rejoice in God's Food for Life)

I. God has food for daily life

- A. Quail and manna in the wilderness.
- B. Food for five thousand in the wilderness.
- C. Food for us (fleshpots or manna, much or little; but food).

- II. God has a purpose with His provision of our daily food
 - A. We are to realize that He is the Giver and rejoice.
 - B. We are to realize that He has an even greater life for which to sustain us, beginning now and continuing forever.
 - C. Hence the horror of thanklessness or grumbling or refusing to use life for His purposes.
- III. Hence rejoice in God's food for eternal life
 - A. God's food for eternal life is Jesus, who redeems us by giving Himself into death for us.
 - B. As we consume that food by faith, we live forever.
 - C. Nourished by the Bread of Life, we shall rejoice in our daily food also and serve the Lord with gladness.

St. Louis, Mo.

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

JUDICA, THE FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT

LEVITICUS 16:15-22

The Text and Its Central Thought.—This is an excellent treatment of the vicarious atonement and pictures beautifully how the justice of God is fully and forever satisfied in the forgiveness of man's sin. As the outline will show, this text presents in all its stark viciousness the true nature of sin, its offense to God, and the only method for its expiation. These are lessons our world needs to have enforced again and again. The social aspects of sin are touched on by the reference to the cleansing of the Holy Place, Tabernacle, and altar. The necessity of confessing sin is indicated in v. 21. Probably Aaron mentioned the specific sins of the people, though he may not have detailed them. The various terms for sin ought to be noted and explained. Interesting is the use of the number seven in v. 19. As in Revelation, it might be construed as the numerical symbol of the world's reconciliation with God.

Aaron might be treated as a type of Christ, but the text is so full that this phase could well be left for another day or touched on in the introduction.

The Day and Its Theme.—On a day when traditionally catechumens are publicly examined prior to confirmation and the sober Passion Week is introduced, the preacher could scarcely have a more fitting text to emphasize how precious God's children are bought and how earnest their striving for that growth in personal holiness ought to

be which God desires and bestows through His Spirit. Introit, Collect, and Gradual stress the calling upon God and the assurance of His help against evil men and circumstances, which is the prerogative of those who have been reconciled to Him. The Word of His truth is their help and guide for continuing in His grace. The Collects for the Gospel and Epistle emphasize the peace, hope, and holiness that faith in a reconciled God produces. The standard Epistle is a very appropriate corollary to the text. The Gospel might well be used as an introduction to point up that the rejection of Christ by the Jews was to perverted notions on the nature of Messiahship and not to Scriptural failure to delineate His character and office.

Goal and Purpose of the Sermon.—The hearer is to perceive how precious his status is as a reconciled child of God and a member of the congregation of God and to strive by the Spirit's help to maintain the cleansed condition faith has imparted.

Sin to Be Diagnosed and Remedied.—To be emphasized is the sin of underestimating our own sinful condition and, in consequence, underestimating the reconciliation God has effected through Christ's vicarious death; as well as its dire result in our lives, namely, no real concern for our growth in holiness of life and in service to God.

Opportunities for Explicit Gospel.—Few texts in Scripture stress so remarkably the facts of sin and grace as does this. Christ bore our personal and social sins forever away from even the ken of God by His death on the altar of the cross. Christ is the antitype of both goats, the bullock, and of Aaron.

Illustrations.—A simple presentation of the dramatic subject matter in the text will make unnecessary the use of much additional illustrative material. Here is a quotation that might be useful to prove the need for emphasis on man's sinfulness: "I deny that men are inherently evil, that people love war, fight, and combat. Most people are peaceful and would go their own way if left alone and not forced through systems of government and economies to act parts they don't like and didn't choose." — CHARLIE VAN COTT, in *Masonic Inspiration*, I (July 1955).

Outline

The Divine Remedy for Human Malady

I. Man Is a Lost Creature

A. Not generally admitted.

1. By human philosophy which deems him inherently good.
2. By "Christians" imbued with philosophy of work-righteousness.

B. The viciousness of sin.

1. Terms — "uncleanness," "transgression," "iniquities," "sin."
 2. Requires death to free man. The enormity of sin (Heb. 9:22).
 3. While sins often are against the fellow man, they are primarily an offense against God. Blood sprinkled on and before mercy seat (v.15) and altar (v.18). No man to go into holy place until atonement made (v.17).
 4. Contaminates and perverts man's environment (vv.16,18; Rom.8:20; Is.6:5).
 5. Sins must be confessed (v.21).
- C. Requires a power outside man to save him. Bullock, goats, sacrificial animals.

II. God's cure

- A. As a substitute was provided for Isaac, so God has a Substitute for man, but, unlike Abraham, this required the sacrifice of His Son. Scapegoats and bullock are types of the Messiah.
- B. The animals (types of Christ) are to bear the sins of men. Imposed (v.21).
- C. Can be wiped out only by death. "Blood is the life" (Deut. 12:23; Lev. 17:11,14; Is. 44:22).
- D. Carried away forever from the presence of God and man. "Wilderness," (v.21; Ps. 103:12).

III. A holy people results

- A. Sins are cleansed away. Men and places hallowed (vv.19,20).
- B. God and man are reconciled. God now Friend and Father (v.19). Seven number of reconciliation.
- C. Entrance into Holy Place (v.17), worship, again possible. Practice of confession and absolution at beginning of service correct.
- D. We are a *congregation* of God. Joint work, not only as individuals.

San Francisco, Calif.

A. C. NITZ

PALM SUNDAY, THE SIXTH SUNDAY IN LENT

ZECHARIAH 9:8-12

The Text and Its Central Thought.—Our use of the New Testament accounts of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem has tended to emphasize the humility of Christ. These verses of Zechariah add the thought that Christ came to bring peace.—V. 8: God promises His people security and protection against all oppression. "לְבֵיתִי, *dat. commod.*, 'for my house,' for the good of my house. The house of Jehovah is not the temple, but Israel as the kingdom of God or church of the Lord. . . ." (Keil.)—V. 9: God invites His people to rejoice. "Rejoice" includes the idea of physical and emotional involvement. Koehler and Gesenius-Tregelles trace the word back to roots which are translated by "go round," "to leap for joy," "to go in a circle . . . to dance."—"Shout" in triumph and joy.—The reason for rejoicing: "Behold, your King will come to you." "לְךָ, not only to thee, but also for thy good" (Keil).—This King will be endowed with the following qualifications and characteristics: צַדִּיק, "right"; "(juridically: man whose behavior is examined and found immaculate), guiltless, correct, just"; "(morally right), without fault"; "(hence) righteous" (Koehler).—נִשְׁעָר, σωτήρ (Septuagint), salvator (Vulgate). So also Luther. "Endowed with נִשְׁעָר, salvation, help from God . . . or furnished with the assistance of God requisite for carrying on His government" (Keil). "Victorious" (RSV). "Bearing the salvation which the Lord had planned" (Kretzmann).—עָנִי, oppressed by misery, poor, lowly, afflicted, humble.—"Riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass."—His kingdom will not be established by worldly might and power nor by men and weapons of war.—V. 10: Their King will bring peace not only to them, but also to the heathen. Cf. Eph. 2:14, 17. שָׁלוֹם, peace, salvation. The relationship of peace will include the גוֹיִם, the nations who were not a part of the covenant nation. His kingdom will extend to the ends of the earth.—V. 11: "The pardon of Israel will not merely consist in the fact that Jehovah will send the promised King to the daughter of Zion; but He will also redeem such members of His nation as shall be still in captivity, out of their affliction" (Keil).—V. 12: אֲסִירֵי הַתְּקוּהָ, "prisoners who may still hope" (Koehler); "the captives cherishing hope" (Gesenius-Tregelles). "'Prisoners of hope' is an epithet applied to the Israelites, because they possess in their covenant blood a hope of redemption" (Keil).—God, speaking through the words of Zechariah, urges His people to rejoice—to become totally involved—because of the peace their King will bring to them and to all nations.

The Day and Its Theme.—The propers for *Palmarum* emphasize the thought that in our meek King we have peace. The Introit takes us through the events of Holy Week to the cross itself, where we hear our Substitute and King cry: "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" In the Collect we pray that God would inspire us through Christ's humility that we may "be partakers of His resurrection." (The Old Testament lesson is a portion of the sermon text.) The Epistle reminds us of Christ's humility and of His subsequent exaltation. The Gospel is the historical fulfillment of Zechariah's prophecy. Our sermon text emphasizes the purpose of Christ's coming: to spread His peace that all men may have true rejoicing.

The Goal and Purpose of the Sermon.—To move the hearer to greater trust in, praise of, and service to, the Christ who came in lowliness and meekness to bring us peace. This sermon fits into the "Growing in Holiness" theme suggested in *Parish Activities*.

Sins to Be Diagnosed and Remedied.—Some of the hearers will be "annual visitors" who may be in attendance because they want to witness confirmation or "to feel prepared" for their annual Communion on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, or Easter. They present us with a particular challenge. And yet none of us have become totally involved in the spirit and purpose of Christ's kingdom. Apathy, a lack of Christian optimism, restlessness, and insecurity are indications that we are not making full and proper use of Christ's message of grace and peace.

Opportunities for Explicit Gospel.—Many of the words of our text can be filled with the Gospel message. The words "just" (righteous) and "lowly" (humble) can be used to emphasize Christ's active obedience. The words "having salvation" provide us with an opportunity to remind our hearers that Christ came as God's Messiah and is Himself the Redeemer, the Establisher of peace, through His passive obedience.

Illustrations and New Testament Parallels.—The best illustrations for this sermon can be found in the events of Holy Week: Christ washing the feet of His disciples; Christ's suffering and death on the cross; Christ's victory over sin, death, and the devil—the enemies of peace. Each of the Evangelists mentions Christ's entry into Jerusalem. (Matthew 21:1-9; Mark 11:1-10; Luke 19:29-40; John 12:12-19.) However, only Matthew and John refer to Zechariah's prophecy.

Outline

We Who Have Peace Through Christ the King Are to Rejoice!

- I. Zechariah prophesied that God's Messiah would come
 - A. As King.
 1. Just.
 2. Yet lowly.
 - B. As Savior (bringing salvation).
- II. Christ established His kingdom
 - A. Not by worldly power and force.
 - B. But by His
 1. Holy life.
 2. Suffering and death.
 - C. To bring about true peace.
- III. We have reason to rejoice (to become totally involved)
 - A. Christ's kingdom has expanded and now includes us.
 - B. We have peace with God.
 - C. We are "prisoners of hope."

Marion, Ind.

ARTHUR F. GRAUDIN

GOOD FRIDAY

ISAIAH 53:3-6

The Text and its Central Thought.—This text contains the heart of Isaiah's entire prophecy. It stands as the pivot of Israel's destiny, the hinge of mankind's history. The text may be most profitably studied with special regard to its broad historical and theological context. Two themes are written across Isaiah 40 to 66: 1. *The failure of Israel as God's witness*; 2. *Redemption for Israel through the suffering Servant of the Lord*. God has called and commissioned Israel as a nation to be a witness for Him before the idolatrous nations of the world. But Israel has borne a faltering and false witness, has herself lusted after the idols of the pagans. God has commissioned Israel to demonstrate His almighty strength before the Gentiles. Yet Israel has put her trust in alliances with the pagan powers, only in turn to be harrowed and consumed by them. Division, disgrace, demoralization, despair, and defeat are her self-inflicted lot. Still God will not utterly cast her off. Despite their repeated failure God will redeem His people to the ultimate fulfillment of His purpose. This He will accomplish through the obedience of His true and faithful Servant,

who will succeed where Israel has fallen short. This Deliverer, however, will appear as One "despised and rejected," a source of astonishment to all who will see Him. "We hid, as it were, our faces from Him." The obedient Servant has "borne our sicknesses and ailments," assumed our moral disjointedness and corruption. God has laid on His "Submissive One" (servant) the stripes, the wounds, the punishments belonging to our crimes and their guilt ("iniquities"). Wayward sheep, we have forsaken the Shepherd and the flock; but God has slain His Beloved as a guilt offering for us. In the Hebrew stanzas the pronouns stand in emphatic contrast: "*He* was pierced for the crimes that were *ours*; *He* was crushed for the guilt that was *ours*" (Smith). Here is the marvel of the vicarious atonement. The cause which Israel has lost, and in which she herself has been lost, will still issue in triumph by the amazing grace of God. Through the suffering of the Servant, Israel will yet fulfill her commission, bringing the Gentile nations to the worship of the true God. The central thought may be stated: The Servant of God suffers and is sacrificed to free Israel from her sins. The New Testament bears repeated testimony to the fulfillment of this prophecy in Jesus and His Cross. Among the direct references are: 1 Peter 2:21-25, ". . . His own self bare our sins in His body on the tree"; Phil. 2:7: ". . . the form of a servant . . . obedient unto death"; and Matt. 8:17: ". . . Himself took our infirmities and bare our sickness." Other passages include John 12:37; Luke 22:37; Acts 8:32; John 1:29; 1 Peter 1:19f.

The Day and Its Theme.—A suggested theme for Good Friday is, "Jesus Bore Our Sins." *Parish Activities* offers the theme: "The Church, the Body of Christ—Growing in Holiness." The two are aptly met in this text, for Isaiah 53 in its direct sense links the individual to the church (O.T. and N.T.) as regards both failure and salvation.

Goal and Purpose of the Sermon.—To help the hearer perceive the necessity of Jesus' cross for the redemption and ultimate hope of His life.

Sin Diagnosed.—Sin is here seen as the failure of the church and of each individual within the church to measure up to God's expectations. It is revealed as failure in stewardship, failure in witness, a clinging to prejudice, a lust for the material (Israel's specific sins). Sin dissipates our possible strength for good, destroys God's flock, and places us ever more securely under Satan's control.

Opportunities for Gospel.—Christ is afflicted by the Father that He might restore righteousness to us. His obedient suffering heals our sickness, brings us new health. This healing links us inseparably

to Him and to His flock, the church. We are redeemed to the fulfilling of our ultimate calling, the bearing witness to God's power and grace before the nations of the world.

Outline

By His Stripes We Are Healed

- I. We have come short of the glory of God
 - A. The tragedy of Israel's failure.
 - B. The tragedy of our failure.
 - 1. As individuals.
 - 2. As members within the church.
- II. Jesus, the obedient Servant of God, bears our sin on the cross
 - A. Israel is redeemed in the promise of the suffering Servant.
 - B. We are redeemed in the suffering and death of Jesus.
- III. By His cross Jesus claims our lives
 - A. We are saved to be witnesses to Him who saves us.
 - B. We are linked effectively to the church and its mission.

Leonia, N. J.

A. KARL BOEHMKE

BRIEF STUDIES

ON GAL. 2:17-19

Bible students know that the line of thought in these three verses of Galatians is difficult to determine. A little article on this subject including a listing of some of the views advanced by interpreters may be welcome. The words, taken by themselves, are simple enough. It is the relation of the various statements to one another and the question what Paul is pointing to in v. 18 that compel us to do some special searching. The KJV renders: "But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin? God forbid! For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor. For I through the Law am dead to the Law, that I might live unto God."

The rendering of the RSV is smoother and in certain places more accurate: "But if in our endeavor to be justified in Christ we ourselves were found to be sinners, is Christ then an agent of sin? Certainly not! But if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove myself a transgressor. For I through the Law died to the Law, that I might live to God."

The paragraph preceding our section (vv. 11-16) had related the wobbling of Peter at Antioch and Paul's criticism of the attitude of his fellow Apostle, concluding with the ringing statement that justification is not by works of the Law, but solely through faith in Christ. Everything in that section is luminous. One question that presents itself is whether the words of Paul addressed to Peter end at the close of v. 16 or must be thought to continue to the conclusion of the chapter. As I see it, the former alternative has to be adopted. V. 17 begins a new section, dwelling on something suggested by the discussion with Peter, but not a part of it.

V. 17

In v. 17 we do not find serious difficulties; exegetes, though differing concerning details, are quite well agreed on the general meaning. Paul, according to the dialectical method which he is fond of, brings before us an objection which is raised against what he has just said: that we are justified not by works of the Law, but by faith. The objection is the old one, uttered already by the Pharisees when they said of Jesus: "This man receiveth sinners" (Luke 15:1f.). It is the charge against the doctrine of free grace and justification by faith that has been voiced

throughout the centuries and that will not die: "If God forgives sins freely and we do not have to earn His pardon through the works we do, then we may sin as we please; justification is made an astonishingly easy matter; merely believe, and you are justified regardless of the life you lead." We had better remember that it is not the Roman Catholic Church alone that has hurled this accusation against what has rightly been called the Pauline doctrine of justification, but that our carnal reason is willing to join in the accusation, perhaps from motives of pride, or concern about public morality, or because it is actually seeking a soft pillow for its sinful urges, in which case the accusation is no longer an accusation but a shout of impious joy. Paul, of course, repudiates such an inference from his teaching. It rests on a total misunderstanding of what he has said of faith and justification. As I stated, on the interpretation of this verse the expositors are fairly well agreed; the few divergent opinions need not detain us (e.g., that of Bengel, who thinks Paul is not speaking of an attack on the doctrine of justification, but wishes to say that Peter's refusal to continue eating with Gentiles brands all who engage in such eating as gross sinners and thereby makes Christ, who had brought Jews and Gentiles together, a minister of sin).

V. 18

It is v. 18 that causes the chief difficulty. If we compare the KJV and the RSV, we note that the latter begins with "but." Literally it should have been "for" (*gar*). Evidently the RSV scholars here, instead of translating, wish to interpret. They must have thought that connecting the statements by means of an adversative rather than an explanatory or causal conjunction would help us in trying to understand Paul. The change they introduce will be found neither necessary nor helpful. The great question is, Of what is Paul speaking when he refers to something he tore down which he might build again?

The older exegetes — Calvin, Beza, and especially the Lutheran Balduin (professor in Wittenberg, d. 1627) — who in the nineteenth century were followed by Wieseler, Rueckert, and others, think that Paul is speaking of the service of sin. They see clearly the accusation which the opponents hurled at the doctrine of justification by grace through faith without the works of the Law, and they seek in v. 18 a decisive, annihilating reply to the charge that this doctrine makes Christ a promoter of sin. Calvin's comments are representative of this class and may well be quoted: "Paul has a twofold answer (i.e., to the charge referred to in v. 17), and here we have the first, an indirect one. He tells us that this charge is at variance with all his teaching because

he had preached faith in Christ in such a way that the destruction and abolition of sin were joined with it. For just as John teaches that Christ did not come to build the kingdom of sin, but to destroy it (1 John 3:8), so Paul here testifies that he in preaching the Gospel had established righteousness in order that sin might be destroyed. Hence it was by no means a self-consistent (*consentaneum*) view to hold that by the same factor sin was crushed and established. By pointing to this absurdity the Apostle repulses the false criticism." It must be admitted that this interpretation at first sight seems very appealing because it apparently does justice to the context. But upon closer inspection it does not commend itself. Too much has to be supplied to make v. 18 contain this meaning. The explanation assumes that the Apostle argues as follows: "Christ cannot be a servant and an abettor of sin. When I became a follower of Christ, my aim was to get rid of sin, its crime, its dominion, its tyranny. That was exactly what I thought Christ promised me. If the accusations of the opponents are correct, then Christ gives me permission to engage in sinning; and if I act on this permission and cast myself into a life of wrongdoing, then I build up again what I at my conversion tore down; I would again make myself a slave of sin, and such a course would brand me as a vile transgressor — a thought too terrible to contemplate." It is apparent I think that there are too many subsidiary considerations that have to be inserted to make v. 18 yield this sense. It is on this account that modern exegetes have quite unanimously come to the conclusion that what Paul is speaking of is the validity of the Law or obedience to it as a means of salvation. When the Apostle became a Christian, he turned his back on the idea that we could do anything through works of the Law to procure God's pardon; he absolutely demolished and abandoned the thought of self-righteousness. If he should again turn to the keeping of the Law to obtain God's pardon, he would be building up what he had destroyed.

Two questions now arise. The first one is, Why would such a course prove Paul a gross sinner, a *parabatees* of the Law? Various answers have been given. Meyer, in his commentary on Galatians (the later editors Sieffert and Schlier do not agree with him), holds the answer is contained in v. 19. The Law itself, as this verse shows, teaches us that we cannot be justified by obedience to the Law. Hence if we desire to receive forgiveness through the Law, we act contrary to the Law itself and therefore become transgressors of it. This interpretation does not seem tenable, because the misunderstanding of the function of the Law which is involved would hardly be called something brand-

ing one as a transgressor. In my opinion Sieffert, Zahn, Oepke, and others who share their interpretation, offer a more satisfactory explanation. They point out that at his conversion Paul tore down the building in which he had lived up to that time, that of salvation through works of the Law. If he now, as the Judaizers demanded, should return to the old ways and rebuild the house of Pharisaic righteousness, he would admit that in abandoning the Law, as he had done, he had been guilty of gross misconduct toward the Law, and that he deserved to be called a transgressor. The use of the term συνίστημι must not be overlooked. It means "to present, to prove, to set forth." Paul does not say that the rebuilding would *make* him a transgressor, but that it would prove that he deserved that title. The view of Schlier deserves mention. He submits the following construction of the contents of v. 18: If I again make the Law and its works the basis of justification, then the terrible verdict of the Law stands that I am a transgressor, a condemned violator of the Law. The thought is altogether Scriptural, but it seems to me to be more remote than that of Sieffert *et alii*.

The other question that calls for an answer is: How does this interpretation of v. 18 furnish a reply to the charge of v. 17 that the doctrine of justification by faith makes Christ an abettor of sin? Burton in his commentary (in the *International Critical Commentary* series) has a helpful hint when he says that in v. 18 we have an *argumentum e contrario*. If we adopt that conception of the verse, we may give the thought as follows: "Does this doctrine of justification make Christ a minister of sin? Not at all. On the contrary, it is I myself who is proved a vile transgressor if I return to the teachings that salvation comes through the keeping of the Law: it is I who stand convicted as a person who became guilty of shameful treatment of the Law when I, instead of relying on it for righteousness, at my conversion turned to Christ for forgiveness, life, and eternal happiness."

V. 19

The fact that Paul in this verse expressly speaks of the Law confirms me in the view that in the preceding verse it was the Law and its validity or function which he had in mind and not the service of sin or a life of wrongdoing. To put it briefly, the Apostle says in this verse, as it were: "I shall not again adopt the principle of justification through works of the Law. I am through with the Law as a justifying factor. The Law itself has brought about this attitude of mine. It showed me that I am a vile sinner and that I cannot keep its holy, august commandments. And that was precisely what God intended the

Law to do. 'By the Law is the knowledge of sin,' Rom. 3:20. The final purpose was that I might live an altogether new life, a life dedicated to the service of God. And that has been accomplished. It is then altogether wrong to think that Christ through the doctrine of justification has become a minister of sin. See what this message of free grace has produced in me — new impulses, new desires, a joyous willingness to serve the Father in heaven."

It will be seen that vv. 18 and 19 are quite properly connected by *gar*, "for," with what precedes. V. 18 presents an *argumentum e contrario* in reply to the charge that the Gospel permits sin. And v. 19 brings evidence that not a life of sin has resulted in Paul (and we might add in all his fellow believers) through having turned to Christ for justification, but a grateful dedication to the service of Him who gave His Son for our redemption.

WILLIAM F. ARNDT

THEOLOGICAL OBSERVER

SEVERANCE OF FRATERNAL RELATIONSHIP

Under this heading, the Rev. Dr. Clarence E. Hoopmann, president of our sister church in Australia, writes in the *Australian Lutheran* (July 13, 1955) on the severance of fraternal relations with our church by the Norwegian Synod, *inter alia*, as follows: "We fear a false or too speedy application has been made of Rom. 16:17. When applying this text, the context dare not be ignored. Verse 18 reads: 'For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good works and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.' In any large church body there will always be the danger of the intrusion of false ideas and practices, but a church does not forfeit its orthodox character by the intrusion of errors, provided they are combated and eventually removed by means of evangelical discipline. This requires time and patience. If we wish to avoid divisions, we must heed the words of the great Apostle Paul: 'I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' May the developments in America be a warning to us not to depart from the Word of God nor to go beyond the Scriptures. Satan, who loves strife and dissension, will endeavor to induce us to do both. He has various ways and means of gaining his ends, but God can protect us against his wiles. May He preserve us in the true understanding of His Word and keep us steadfast in His Word and truth. He is the God of peace and love and unity."

JOHN THEODORE MUELLER

BRIEF ITEMS FROM "RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE"

Washington, D.C.—The United States Supreme Court held that Congress is within its constitutional powers in requiring a conscientious objector to believe in a Supreme Being in order to qualify for exemption from combat duty.

The court refused to consider an appeal by Vern George Davidson of Berkeley, Calif., former national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League and a self-described agnostic, against the refusal of a draft board to classify him as a C. O. He argued that Congress violated the First Amendment by prescribing the kind of religious belief that will be recognized in establishing the validity of claims to conscientious

tious objection. Mr. Davidson said he was opposed to war by virtue of religious training and belief but did not believe in a Supreme Being as defined in the Selective Service Act.

The pertinent section of the Act follows:

"... religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relationship to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relationship, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a purely personal moral code."

The Supreme Court also declined to hear an appeal by Russel Louis La Rose, a Lutheran student at Deep Springs (Calif.) College, against a lower court ruling that he is now under military jurisdiction. Mr. La Rose contended that he was not allowed by a local draft board to appeal his I-A-0 classification. He said the Army courtmartialed him when he refused to take his non-combatant training. He appealed to the Supreme Court for release from the Presidio, an Army prison at San Francisco.

Mr. La Rose conceded in his appeal that the Lutheran Church does not teach a pacifist doctrine but said that "any Christian who takes the Fifth Commandment literally will refuse to kill."

Nashville, Tenn.—Chancellor William J. Wade ruled here that Bible reading and prayer in public schools do not violate the constitutional rights of children or their parents. He dismissed a suit filed in Chancery Court by Philip Carden, night editor for the Associated Press in Nashville, and father of four city school children.

Berlin.—Increased "antireligious pressure" in East Germany was denounced by the synod of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg in a resolution adopted at its annual meeting here. The action followed a report to the synod by a special committee on church-state relations that detailed various ways in which religious life is being hampered in the Soviet Zone. Dr. Otto Dibelius of Berlin, head of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID), also censured the East German regime's actions in strong terms, describing its antichurch measures in detail.

His comment drew immediate rebuke from the Soviet Zone press. *Neues Deutschland*, official organ of the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party, charged that it was "a contribution to the cold war." Principal target of the synod's and Bishop Dibelius' criticism was the extensive promotion in the Soviet Zone of "youth dedication" ceremonies, which they described as "a kind of atheistic counterpart of Christian confirmation and first Communion rites."

"It was clear from the very beginning that these dedications were aimed at the Christian faith and that the state stood behind them," the bishop said. "Throughout the Soviet Zone the Communists are employing coercive measures to boost participation in the ceremonies.

"School officials make overtures to every pupil in an effort to get them to enroll in the dedications. Fathers are pressured by Communist leaders of their trade unions, mothers by the Communist women's leagues, and the children themselves by the (Communist) Free German Youth organization."

Bishop Dibelius said he will issue letters to parishes and parents in East Germany stressing that there can be no compromise between Christian faith and these youth dedications. The synod resolution urged all parishioners to remain loyal to their faith and to help those who are suffering conflicts of conscience under the pressures put upon them.

Washington, D. C.—Private and church-related schools in America exist by right and not by sufferance, the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States declared in a statement issued at the close of their annual meeting here.

"The private and church-related schools are part of the American system," the statement said: "Manifestly, they exist; they exist by right; and they are unquestionably carrying a large share of the educational burden. Their teachers, religious and lay, have dedicated themselves to a high purpose, have labored hard to acquit themselves worthily, and the entire nation is their debtor. These schools have every claim in fact and in justice to be recognized as powerful contributing factors in the building of a better and freer country."

The bishops' declaration was, in effect, a plea for the preservation of "educational freedom." Such freedom, they pointed out, has been an underlying principle of the nation since its founding. The American school system, the hierarchy emphasized, "is not a closed, unitary creation of the State, a servile instrument of government monopoly."

It embraces, they said, "together with the state-supported schools, a whole enormous cluster of private and church-related schools, including many of the most honored names in the entire educational world, and devoted to the education of many millions of the nation's youth." Private and church-related schools, the bishops asserted, are such an integral part of the nation's educational program that their students "have the right to benefit from those measures, grants or aids, which are manifestly designed for the health, safety, and welfare of American youth, irrespective of the school attended."

The hierarchy declared that these schools "protest the kind of thinking which would reduce them to a secondary level, and against unfair and discriminatory treatment which would, in effect, write them off as less wholly dedicated to the public welfare than the state-supported schools." The statement said it was "dangerous thinking" to suppose that "the existence of the private school is an infringement upon the domain of the school supported by public funds."

"The private school is a concrete demonstration of the fact that education is not a monopoly of public authority," the bishops stated. "It should be added, moreover, that the private school provides a saving and challenging variety in the total system, beneficial to the whole and manifestly fruitful in its effects. Those who would seek to abolish the private school would not only sin against justice, they would destroy something very precious in American life."

"Neither is the church-related school a limitation on the right of the state to insure an educated citizenry. It exists not only to fulfill the function of education in our democratic society, but specifically to educate the Christian for his dual citizenship in time and eternity. It exists to teach not only the content of the accepted curriculum, but that which the tax-supported school under present conditions may not teach, namely, positive religion."

In stressing freedom of education, the bishops said the right of the parents to attend to the child's education is "antecedent to any human law or institution."

"It is vested in his very nature and is demanded as a fulfillment of his actual parenthood," the statement said. "In this it reflects the inviolability of the human person and his freedom under God. . . . It is a manifestation of the law of nature in concrete action. So it is that private and religious education in America rests upon the law of nature as well as upon the law of the land." For Roman Catholic parents, the bishops added, there is an "additional imperative." These parents know, they said, "that the circumstances of modern life demand the positive training of their children in the fundamentals of religion, a training that cannot be imparted elsewhere than in schools dedicated to the purpose."

The bishops devoted a section of their statement to the history of American education and the place of the state in the educational field. They said it "was not without significance that the private and church-related schools were the first in the field of American education." They referred to the historic U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Oregon School Case, which upheld the existence of private and church-related

schools by right and added that "thus far, happily, the right of the parent to educate the child has not been successfully challenged in any American court."

"While the state may usefully engage in the business of education, as demonstrated in our national experience," the hierarchy said, "it has no authority either to monopolize the field or to arrogate to itself exclusive privileges and powers. The state, by definition, is not itself primarily an educative agency."

The prelates said in conclusion:

"This statement is submitted in quiet confidence, that the national sense of justice will stand firm, and that a cordial appreciation of private and church-related schools, both for what they are and for what they have done for America, will see to it that they are preserved and upheld so long as this is a nation of free men."

The statement was signed on behalf of the hierarchy by the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Vatican City.—The Vatican press office confirmed a report that Pope Pius XII saw a vision of Christ during his near fatal illness last December. The report was first published on November 24 in the Italian weekly *Oggi* (Today). It said that when the Pope was going through the crisis of his illness, he recited the prayer "Anima Christi" (Soul of Christ). When he came to the words "In hora mortis meae, voca me (In the hour of my death, call me)," the *Oggi* article said, the Pontiff saw at his bedside Christ, who had come not to take him away, but rather to comfort him.

The article said Pope Pius is positive he saw Jesus and that he was not dreaming, but was fully awake and lucid at the time. It said that after the vision the Pope recovered with "miraculous" speed.

In an official Vatican statement, Luciano Casimirri, head of the press office, said:

"This press office has been authorized to confirm the announcement carried by the illustrated weekly magazine *Oggi* in its issue of November 24 on a vision which the Holy Father had during his illness of December, 1954."

In its account of the papal vision the *Oggi* article said:

"We are in a position to reveal to the world a miraculous fact about the illness which the Holy Father overcame last December. This fact so far has remained unknown.

"When his suffering grew most atrocious, the Pope repeated to himself the prayer 'Anima Christi.' On the night that the crisis reached its

peak, the Pontiff, at a time when he alone was in his room, recited that prayer again.

"When he reached the invocation, 'In hora mortis meae, voca me,' (In the hour of my death, call me), he saw the sweet figure of Christ at his bedside.

"At that moment, the Holy Father thought that the Lord had come to call him unto Himself and serenely answered the call by continuing the prayer: 'Iube me venire ad te.'

"But Jesus had not come to take him away, but rather to comfort him, and, he thinks, to give him the certainty that his hour had not come.

"The Holy Father is absolutely positive that he saw Jesus. It was not a dream. He was fully awake and lucid at the time.

"The following day, when no hope seemed to be left, when the newspapers of the entire world had come out with predictions of an early catastrophe, the Pontiff started improving so quickly that to many his improvement appeared miraculous.

"The Pope told this episode only to very few persons and asked them not to divulge it."

This was the second vision of the 79-year-old Pontiff. The first was five years ago during the 1950 Holy Year, when the Pope saw the sun rotate on three days of October and November. This vision was described by Federico Cardinal Tedeschini, archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica, to pilgrims gathered at the shrine of Our Lady of Fatima, Portugal, for the closing of the extended Holy Year of 1951. Cardinal Tedeschini said at the time that the 1950 vision, which came to the Pope while he was walking in the Vatican gardens, was identical with that which accompanied the appearance of the Virgin Mary to three shepherd children at Fatima in 1917.

According to Cardinal Tedeschini, Pope Pius witnessed the miracle at four o'clock on the afternoons of October 30, 31, and November 1, in 1950. November 1 was the day on which the Pontiff proclaimed the dogma of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into heaven.

BRIEF ITEMS FROM THE NEWS BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL

Marangu, Tanganyika, East Africa.—More than 5,000 people attended the opening-day festival of the all-Africa Lutheran conference here on November 13. The conference, which lasted through November 22, is the first Africa-wide gathering of any kind in history. Officially representing the nearly one million Lutherans of the continent

and the Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, German, Norwegian, Swedish, and American missionaries serving the Africans were 150 delegates from nine African countries as well as Europe and America.

On the opening day prominent leaders of world Lutheranism as well as indigenous African leaders of the young churches were heard at three great rallies. Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover, Germany, president of the Lutheran World Federation, preached at the Sunday morning worship, led by the Rev. Stefano Moshi of the Tanganyika Lutheran Church. The Rev. Matthias E. Makgato of the South African Lutheran Church conducted the dismissal. The liturgy at this first all-Africa worship service was conducted in the native Chagga tongue of Mr. Moshi and the participating Marangu church and school choirs.

Throughout the conference, four languages were used officially, namely, English, Swahili, French, and German, into all of which every speech was translated simultaneously. Equipment for this purpose was loaned by the International Business Machines, Inc. The staff of interpreters was headed by the Rev. P. D. Fueter, a Swiss from the Moravian Mission in Tanganyika. The actual mother tongues of the delegates at this conference include Bacama, Afrikaans, Nama, Schambala, Sepedi, Chagga, Oshuambo, Zulu, Swazi, Gala, Sesuto, Sesotho, Cishona, Tika, Gbande, Malagasy, Baya, Loma, Pare, Amharic, Wallamo, Kibena, as well as English, German, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, French, and others.

Springfield, Ohio.—A \$500,000 gift on November 12 has raised to \$2,000,000 the total donations made to Wittenberg College here by members of a Canton, Ohio, family within three weeks. The latest donor is Mrs. Sara D. Krieg, whose son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Harold O. Thomas, on October 23 gave Wittenberg \$1,500,000, the largest single gift in its 111-year history and the largest gift ever received by a Lutheran college in the United States.

Helsinki, Finland.—Press and public in Lutheran Finland were stirred by the unsuccessful attempt of a woman teacher to force her application for ordination to the ministry of the Church of Finland.

According to "Kirkon Tiedoituspalvelu," the church's news bulletin, the daily newspapers of Finland gave "sensational attention" to the request for ordination by Miss Liisa Paivikki Riipa, a theological graduate of the University of Helsinki, who teaches gymnastics and art as well as religion at Paltamo High School in Eastern Finland. Miss Riipa asked the Church's Chapter of Kuopio to authorize her ordination to the ministry, but was told that "there is no ministry by women in the Church of Finland."

Helsinki, Finland.—Bibles translated into the South African Ambo language by Finnish Lutheran missionaries will be published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, it was announced here. The event will be celebrated by thanksgiving services throughout the Ambo district, an important mission field of Lutheran missionaries from Finland.

Dr. Martti Rauhanen, a veteran missionary who made the first translation of the New Testament into the Ambo language back in 1903, had done most of the work on the complete translation of the Bible now scheduled for publication.

Milwaukee, Wis.—The third pastor of the Northwest Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America to stand trial on charges of doctrinal deviation has been found guilty of heresy on five of six counts. He is the Rev. Victor K. Wrigley, 33, pastor of Gethsemane Lutheran Church in suburban Brookfield in Waukesha County. His case was heard on November 10 by a synod trial board, which recommended that he be suspended from his pulpit.

Mr. Wrigley, on the advice of his church council, did not attend the trial. He has indicated that even if he was read out of the synod, he could not be forced out as pastor of Gethsemane. He could not be reached for comment after the finding in his case was announced.

The Rev. George P. Crist, 31, pastor of Bethlehem Lutheran Church at Durham, who was found guilty of heresy last July, has since turned in his ordination papers to the synod and is studying at the University of Iowa. The Rev. John Gerberding, 33, who was acquitted on similar charges last August, has announced that he intends to resign his pastorate at Holy Cross Lutheran Church in Menomonee Falls even though his congregation has rejected his resignation. Pastors in the area demanded that he be retried after Mr. Gerberding had said he had not changed his opinions.

BOOK REVIEW

All books reviewed in this periodical may be procured from or through Concordia Publishing House, 3558 South Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis 18, Missouri.

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE GOSPELS. By H. A. Guy.
New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955. vi and 147 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

This volume was designed to bring together into one place, and for easy reading, the developments that have taken place in the study of the Gospels during the last few decades. In this task the author succeeds admirably. The result is a handy little volume on introductory questions to all four Gospels. For anyone interested in critical questions as they relate to the writing of the Gospels this book will prove to be a useful guide.

Unhappily, the author follows along the line of Moffatt and Bultmann in making various suggestions as to how the order of chapters in St. John could be improved. And yet just in this tendency he shows an awareness of some of the most recent treatments covering the work of the Evangelists.

MARTIN H. SCHARLEMANN

JESUS AND THE NON-JEWS. By T. W. Manson. London: The Athlone Press, 1955. 18 pages. Paper. 50 cents.

In this little pamphlet a distinguished New Testament scholar launches an inquiry into the problem of an apparent contradiction in the Gospel records. On the one hand, Jesus indicates that He is concerned only for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. On the other, the disciples are enjoined to bear witness before the Gentiles.

How can these two statements be reconciled? That is the task the author puts himself. He finds his solution in a conception of the church as the new Israel. Jesus expressed a concern for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, because it was to Israel that He looked for an adequate response of faith and obedience. However, that reaction was not forthcoming; and so the circle was extended to include the Gentiles.

MARTIN H. SCHARLEMANN

CALVINISM, ITS HISTORY, BASIC PRINCIPLES, ITS FRUITS AND ITS FUTURE, AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION IN LIFE.
By Ben A. Warburton. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1955. 249 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

The author, an English student of Calvinism and editor of the *Christian Pathway*, presents the genetic history of the religious system that has come to be named for the Genevan reformer. It is Warburton's contention that

Calvinism is nothing but a restatement of Augustinianism which, in turn, reproduces the teaching of the ancient church and of the Bible itself. The main portion of the book presents a detailed, at times repetitious, analysis of the so-called "Five Points" of Calvinism, particularly vis-à-vis the counterpoints of Arminianism. In this connection the historic Synod of Dort, 1618—1619, with its doctrinal resolutions crystallizing the basic tenets of the Reformed faith, comes in for considerable discussion. The relation of Calvinistic doctrine to the life of its followers as well as the impact of Calvinism on the political, social, moral, and educational spheres are briefly summarized in the concluding chapters. In his purpose to draw a clear and sympathetic picture of the fundamentals of Calvinism the author has succeeded very well, though not always with the degree of objectivity one might desire. For that matter, no one can be completely objective about a faith and way of life to which he is firmly committed.

This is not the place to discuss the differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism. A few observations, however, press for expression. When the author insists that the "root principles" of all Christian systems of theology "are to be found embedded either in Calvinism or in Arminianism" (p. 10), the question arises: Where does the Lutheran Church fit in? Can the premise be maintained that what is not Calvinistic must be Arminian, and vice versa? That is to say: Does a repudiation of Arminian (Pelagian) anthropology necessarily make one a Calvinist? Does rejection of a limited redemption of necessity put one into the Arminian camp? Is this equation (pp. 13 f.) tenable: Calvinism = Augustinianism = Paulinism = Christ-ism? Are we getting an adequate delineation of Calvinism if it is seen almost exclusively in relation to Arminianism, with only casual reference to Roman Catholicism, and no explicit evaluation of Lutheran teaching at all? Does Calvinism truly qualify as *the* Reformation of the 16th century? Was the Synod of Dort of decisive significance for "all those Churches where the principles of the Reformation were held" (p. 48)? One is struck, on the one hand, by the emphatic insistence of the Calvinist on recourse to the Word of God and, on the other, by the constant reiteration of the "strictly logical nature of Calvinistic teaching" (p. 63 and *passim*). It would seem to be the course of genuine loyalty to Scripture to acknowledge, for example, both the doctrine of universal redemption and that of a particular election; to acknowledge, in other words, that these tensions do exist in Scripture without "logical" resolution. There is too much emphasis on the absolute decrees of the all-sovereign God, even the *Deus absconditus*, and far too little consideration of our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Deus revelatus*. The author lays much stress on the operation of the Holy Spirit, but he seems to find no room in the Calvinistic system for the means of grace, the Gospel in the Word and the Sacraments. All of which brings us back to the judgment that the author has given us a good description of the rationale of Calvinism.

HERBERT J. A. BOUMAN

LUTHERANS AND CONVERSION. By Jacob Andreassen. Minneapolis: T. S. Denison and Co., 1955. 112 pages. Paper. \$1.25.

The author, a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, here compiles the results of a questionnaire on conversion sent to Lutherans of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church. The questionnaire dealt with the assurance of salvation, an awakened state before conversion, the time of conversion, and remaining in baptismal grace. In his evaluation the author demonstrates a wholesome concern for a vital Christianity in the postbaptismal years. Authorities quoted are not only many Norwegian Lutheran dogmatists and devotional writers but also the Missouri Synod's C. F. W. Walther and J. T. Mueller. The bulk of the book presents testimonies concerning conversion and baptismal grace. These reflect the strengths and weaknesses of pietistic influences. This reviewer sensed a depreciation of Baptism as a vitally relevant communication of the Spirit of Christ by which alone the Christian has been converted, is converted, and remains converted. Unfortunately absolution and Holy Communion, so important in early Lutheranism as means of grace, were treated only incidentally. The issuance of this book points up the need for a larger systematic and practical treatment of conversion and related areas of Christian doctrine.

HENRY W. REIMANN

FOOLS FOR CHRIST. By Jaroslav Pelikan. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 172 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

In this compact volume, Professor Pelikan attempts a task which would tax three separate inquiries. That he accomplishes his purpose with competence and charm is a testimony to the depth of his scholarship and the breadth of his theological, philosophical, and esthetic interests. He attacks the three major heresies by which man has interposed human achievement between himself and the possession of God or the experience of the Holy. The first is intellectualism. Philosopher, Gnostic, and systematic theologian have fallen prey to this delusion. Kierkegaard is the thinker who came to a realization of the poverty of intellect for realizing God; and St. Paul is explored as the spokesman for the Truth that is the gift of God to the man who first dedicates himself to the Holy. The second heresy is moralism. Instead of operating with the conventional analysis of Pharisaism, Puritanism, or Pietism, Professor Pelikan explores the discovery of Feodor Dostoevsky that man's relation to God must be more than ethical, and sets into this background the discussion of Martin Luther, who found man's goodness in God as a gift of God. The Larger Catechism is made basic for the discussion, while pungent observations on Luther's theology are derived from wider sources. The third heresy is estheticism. The analysis of its source and meaning especially in our own time, and of the place of Romanticism and Schleiermacher as parallels to the Enlightenment, is valuable. The author employs Nietzsche as his exemplar of a man who experimented with esthetics as the way to God

and ended by repudiating both God and esthetics; and then closes his volume with a chapter on Johann Sebastian Bach—one which displays not merely learning but the author's own listening and singing. All of the chapters read well, and footnotes are held to a minimum of references useful for further study. Few readers will approach this volume with the breadth of theological or cultural interest displayed by the author; but all will be stimulated to feel a concern for self and faith by his pages, and to increased respect for the multifarious forces that undermine the Christian's trust in what he glibly calls "salvation by grace."

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

MAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF GOD. By William J. Wolf. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1955. 189 pages. Cloth. \$2.95.

This volume is number two of the *Christian Faith Series*, of which Reinhold Niebuhr is consulting editor. Dr. Wolf is Professor of Theology and the Philosophy of Religion at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. He proposes to examine and answer the question (p. 22): "What exactly does the Christian affirm about God and about the areas of human experience that may become transparent for a knowledge of him?" Noting the inadequacy of the knowledge of God derived from cosmological, teleological, and even ontological arguments, the author sets forth the uniqueness and superiority of the Christian knowledge of God. The Christian knows God because of his "understanding of a historical event—the life of Jesus of Nazareth" (p. 27). The revelation of God is seen as one of continuity between the Old and the New Testament, but also of discontinuity, in that God's self-disclosure in His Son Jesus Christ involves a radical newness, a finality of revelation, for which all preceding manifestations were preparatory. The heart of the Christian knowledge of God is to be found in the fact that God is the God of history. God's revelation of Himself is focused in the historical event of the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of His Son. God revealed Himself in a once-for-all act of self-sacrificing love for the redemption of sinful mankind. This revelation of God is perpetuated and diffused by means of the written record in the Scriptures, mediated through the "Christian community," that is, the church. Though the author brings to his task many profound insights that are valid and valuable for our present time and situation, the book requires discriminating study. Thus the author's view of Scripture rests on the assumption that the results of the higher critical approach, including some "demythologizing," are reliable and that the conclusions of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school are consonant with the facts. Again, although in the main the Christology of the book moves in historic orthodox paths, some of the statements fail to do justice to the *genus idiomaticum*, e.g., in reference to the "limitations of his (Christ's) knowledge" (p. 141). To this reviewer the author's attempts at "explaining" the doctrine of the Trinity are particularly unsatisfactory.

Modalistic leanings are apparent when he says that "St. Paul, in Romans, associates God as Father, Son, and Spirit" (p. 150). He does not want to be a Sabellian, yet he approves of the phrase "God in three modes of existence" (p. 151) as a proper way to express the doctrine in modern speech. These are serious strictures. Many others could be expressed. Yet an alert, critical study of this work should be a richly rewarding experience for every theologian.

HERBERT J. A. BOUMAN

DAS HEILIGE MAHL IM GLAUBEN DER VOELKER: EINE RELIGIONSPHAENOMENOLOGISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG. By Fritz Bammel. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1950. 199 pages, plus one large chart. Cloth. DM 19.00.

In brief, Bammel's thesis is that all the multiple meanings that have attached themselves to the Holy Eucharist in the various Christian traditions have parallels in the non-Christian religions; that the emergence of these meanings in Christian theology and worship represents a response to deep-seated human convictions and existential human needs; and that accordingly the conventional theological approaches (textual criticism, source analysis, liturgics, history of dogma, comparative symbolics) to the Eucharistic problem can profitably be supplemented by anthropological insights. Bammel illustrates his points with great learning; he levies on both hemispheres and the whole of history for his non-Christian examples and on a wide range of theologies and orders of service for his Christian evidence. His presentation is erudite, stimulating, and suggestive; his conclusions are properly cautious. Occasionally he treats his evidence in a somewhat Procrustean fashion; as when, for instance, he suggests that the influence of Calvin may be partially responsible for the formula of distribution in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, "The Body . . . the Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life" (p. 135), and that the variety of emphases in early Lutheran Eucharistic thinking is the result of blessed Martin Luther's failure to develop a completely consistent doctrine on the Sacrament of the Altar (pp. 174, 175). Bammel might have fortified his thesis by reference to the work of Brilioth and Dix (with both of whom he is apparently unfamiliar), by a wider reading in the literature of the Roman Catholic liturgical movement, by a firsthand acquaintance with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran liturgical materials (notably the *Propers*), and by a more comprehensive and careful evaluation of all the references to the Sacrament of the Altar in the Lutheran Symbols.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE POLITICAL ETHICS OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. By Harold L. Lunger. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954. 304 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

The place of Alexander Campbell in American history, especially in the history of the church in America, is a large and important one. He

was founder and guiding spirit of what may be considered a native American denomination, the Disciples of Christ. The author, himself a Disciples minister, prepared this study as a doctoral dissertation. He presents an eminently objective and incisive analysis, with excellent documentation, of Alexander Campbell as a churchman and as a Christian citizen. The evolution of Campbell from a somewhat radical left-wing Protestant in his youth to a middle-of-the-road denominationalist with increasingly more conservative leanings in his mature years is clearly set forth. The author shows this development as being largely parallel with Campbell's changing political views. Theologically, Campbell moved from a platform of extreme sectarian separatism and independence, coupled with New Testament primitivism, to denominational organization. Politically, he started with strong insistence on the absolute separation of church and state and the Christian's almost total withdrawal from the implications of citizenship to a position of a rather far-reaching synthesis between religious and political obligations. The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of ferment, a struggle for mastery of opposing views on government, education, suffrage, economics, and various social issues, such as slavery, capital punishment, and war; and it was the frontier, with its less inhibited approach, that kept these problems from simmering down. Living and laboring on the border between North and South and between East and West throughout this complex half-century, it was inevitable that a man of Campbell's breadth of erudition and qualities of leadership should become deeply involved in the ferment and loom large and influential, often even controversial. There were many inconsistencies in Campbell's career. Thus, he could combine a literalistic Biblicism with the rationalism of the Enlightenment (John Locke), a personal aversion to slavery with a lengthy defense of the system, an emphasis on complete separation of church and state with promotion of Bible reading in all public schools, a plea for the Scripturalness of capital punishment with extreme pacifism, enthusiastic espousal of Jacksonian democracy with "aristocratic" Jeffersonianism. Campbell presented many sane views on such matters as charging interest, public education, the solution of the slavery problem, and others. It will be seen that the author's theme must be taken in a rather broad sense. Though not all of the author's judgments and conclusions can be accepted, this book represents a very valuable contribution to an important chapter in American church history.

HERBERT J. A. BOUMAN

A GUIDE TO THE RELIGIONS OF AMERICA. Edited by Leo Rosten. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955. xiii and 282 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Between 1952 and 1954, *Look* magazine published a series of illustrated articles on the religious beliefs of Americans. Each statement was prepared by a prominent representative of the group under discussion to

make it as authoritative as possible. These articles (without the illustrations, alas) are here republished, with the organized denominations in a noncommittal alphabetical order. The series includes summaries of the religious beliefs of Baptists, Roman Catholics (by layman John Cogley), Christian Scientists, Congregationalists (by Douglas Horton), Disciples of Christ, Episcopalians (by W. Norman Pittenger), Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews, Lutherans (by G. Elson Ruff, editor of the *Lutheran*), Methodists (by Ralph Sockman), Mormons, Presbyterians (by John Sutherland Bonnell), Protestants (by Henry Pitney van Dusen), Quakers, Seventh-day Adventists, and Unitarians, plus statements on agnosticism (by Bertrand Russell), the possibility of a scientist's belief in God (by Warren Weaver), and the convictions of the 64,000,000 unchurched Americans (by Ethical Culture's Jerome Nathanson). The presentations are at a thoroughly popular level of intelligibility. The question-and-answer form (Nathanson's statement is the one exception) makes them extremely concrete, but it also tends to give them an apologetic cast. The dependability of the individual presentation obviously varies; the differences of opinion within any of the Protestant denominations that claim the nominal allegiance of most American church people are often greater than the differences among different denominations, and the letters to the editor that followed the publication of several articles indicated a liberal measure of dissent in many of the church bodies. To increase the value of this volume as a comparative theological document, 105 pages of "facts and figures on religion in the United States" have been appended. Most useful for convenient reference is the comparison of religious beliefs of the fifteen denominations represented in the *Look* series, drawn up by Robinette Nixon and Barbara Kaplan. The remaining exhibits reproduce more or less accessible reference material on membership, the clergy, religious education, religion issues in public opinion polls, holy days and religious observances, sociological data on religion, and denominational headquarters. The value of these data is frequently limited by the fact that the sources operate with the misleading Protestant-Roman Catholic-Jewish trichotomy. Despite its limitations, many of which are inescapable, *A Guide to the Religions of America* is a fascinating and useful compendium.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

I AM A CHRISTIAN. By Jesse R. Wilson. Seventh Printing (Revised). Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1954. 62 pages. Paper. Price not given.

Dr. Wilson, Home Secretary American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, first issued this pamphlet in 1935 for the Student Volunteer Movement. It was widely used during World War II by Baptist chaplains in the armed forces. The author finds that being a Christian involves at least four things: (1) a Christian experience; (2) a Christian faith; (3) a Christian philos-

ophy of life; (4) a Christian hope for the world. His purpose in writing is "to state in simple terms, without pride and without apology, what I live by and what I most surely believe" (p. 5). The product is very appealing in many respects. Many facets of the meaning of the Lordship of Christ in the believer's life are beautifully and quotably expressed. Yet there is a studied vagueness about some of the central truths of the Christian faith. While emphasizing the death and resurrection of Jesus, the author has little to say concerning man's sinfulness and the vicarious atonement, though he does quote with approval a characterization of the uniqueness of Christianity as the *justificatio impii* (p. 29). To the question, What think ye of Christ? we get, at best, some confused answers. Jesus is "the revelation of God" (p. 29). "God exists and in His essential nature He is like Jesus Christ" (p. 43). "There are limitless manifestations of God, but Jesus is a fully adequate and universally intelligible personal manifestation. It is not so much that He is like God. He may not be like God in every aspect of God's being." (P. 44.) In his discussion of a Christian hope for the world the author's stress is almost exclusively this-worldly, a consistent unfolding of the social gospel. This book is not the answer to the question, What is a Christian?

HERBERT J. A. BOUMAN

SWORD OF THE SPIRIT. A Biography of Samuel Trexler. By Edmund Devol. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1954. xi and 298 pages. Cloth. \$4.00.

Samuel Geiss Trexler was ordained a Lutheran clergyman on May 29, 1899. He died on May 30, 1949. He began his ministry in Greenpoint, a section of Brooklyn, as a missionary to establish an English Lutheran congregation. The Lutheran Church of the Messiah was the result of his labors, before he became the first Lutheran student pastor in 1912. He served in that capacity as an itinerant for the various Eastern universities until 1914. In that year he accepted a call to the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in Buffalo, where he served until 1920. In 1917-18 he was a chaplain in the A. E. F. In 1920 he was elected as the first full-time president of the Lutheran Synod of New York and New England. When the New York Ministerium and the New York Synod were merged with the Lutheran Synod of New York and New England in 1929 into the United Synod of New York (now designated as the United Synod of New York and New England), he was elected as its first president. From 1929 to 1934 and again from 1939 to 1944 he was president of this body. He served also as president of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America. Active in union meetings, he attended the Lutheran World Convention at Eisenach (1923) and the Third Lutheran World Convention in Paris (1935), as well as the meetings at Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937. He visited Russia, Yugoslavia, and South America in the interest of Lutheranism.

Dr. Trexler belongs to American church history. His life brought him into contact with some of the prominent personages of the first half of the twentieth century. However, the record reveals no contacts whatsoever with The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

Dr. Edmund Devol, a physician, was the personal friend and companion of Dr. Trexler during the 50 years of the latter's ministry. He writes his biography from the diaries and letters of his friend, sympathetically, understandingly, appreciatively. It is a tribute, but not a fulsome one. Here and there the book presents some significant insights into the work of the church, but the author's main concern is telling the life story of his friend.

CARL S. MEYER

EUROPEAN LITERATURE AND THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES. By Ernst Robert Curtius. New York: Pantheon Books, 1953. 662 pages. Cloth. \$5.50.

"European literature is an intelligible unit, which disappears from view when it is cut into pieces." In this book Dr. Curtius seeks to demonstrate the continuity of Western culture from antiquity to modern times by the study of the metamorphoses of literary forms and ideas from Homer to Goethe. Just as archaeology has made surprising discoveries by means of aerial photography, so Dr. Curtius employs a "high-altitude" technique to make "discoveries which are impossible from a church steeple." The result of his investigation, to which he brings amazing erudition, is a stimulating demonstration of the "inexhaustible wealth of interrelations," which makes Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, and T. S. Eliot parts of the same culture.

In making this demonstration the author is involved in the dilemma that confronts any writer who tries to prove his thesis by careful scholarship: "If the writer gives too many examples, his book becomes unreadable; if he gives too few, he weakens its demonstrative force." Despite Curtius' valiant efforts to keep his book readable, much of the book is of particular interest only to the serious student of literature. The theologian, however, will find much that is of interest, both in the conclusions which Curtius reaches and in the methods he adopts.

A lecture on the "Medieval Bases of Western Thought," delivered at the Goethe Bicentennial at Aspen, Colo., is appended to the book; it is a summary and application of the message of the work proper. Speaking of the Middle Ages as transmitters of the bases of Western thought, classical antiquity, and Christianity, he characterizes our age, with Toynbee, as an "age of disintegration." He concludes: "The equilibrium of culture will be preserved only if those disrupting forces are balanced by new ways of stating and adapting the legacy which has been entrusted to us by the past."

The book contains many quotations in foreign tongues, some translated and some not.

PHILIP J. SCHROEDER

PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY INTERPRETED THROUGH ITS DEVELOPMENT. By John Dillenberger and Claude Welch. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954. xii and 340 pages. Cloth. \$4.50.

Here, in the reviewer's opinion, is a book which no student of Protestantism in its far-reaching developments can afford to ignore. This does not mean that the reader will agree with every view or verdict of the authors. The modernist may find many lines of theological thinking too closely drawn. The fundamentalist is likely to scan many statements with unmitigated condemnation, while the Lutheran scholar of conservative tradition is bound to take issue with many views expressed on Luther and his theological line of thought. The final analysis and definition of Protestantism may please nobody. But this no doubt is the fate of every work that sets itself the task of this one. Nevertheless, no reader will lay aside this instructive book without having gained new and deeper insights into the way Protestantism is judged by theologians of the mediating type who try to avoid the extremes both of radical negativism and out-and-out theological conservatism. Both authors are experienced theological teachers and writers. Dr. Welch is on the faculty of the Divinity School of Yale University, while Dr. Dillenberger is associate professor of theology at Harvard Divinity School. Their book was written at the request of the Committee on Projects and Research of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, which felt that there was a serious need for a single, and rather popular, work on the meaning and history of Protestantism from its beginning at Wittenberg to the present time. The authors have done their work well, for they have supplied the student of Protestantism with an excellent overview of Protestant development, omitting no important incident in its march through the centuries, yet presenting the not too simple subject matter so concisely and attractively that the reader is never wearied or confused by the wealth of the material which is here offered. While the authors divided the work of writing the initial drafts, the final text was formulated by both. For the whole they assume joint responsibility. In thirteen chapters the book guides the student from the causes that led to the Reformation, to Luther and Calvin, whose patterns of theology are analyzed and compared, to the Anabaptist movement, the solidification of the Reformation churches, Lutheran as well as Calvinist, Puritanism and related movements, the revival of the Evangelical faith, largely through the aggressiveness of the Wesleyan movement, the great awakenings in England and America, the later theological trends in this country and on the European continent, Protestant expansion by missionary ventures, the formation of liberalism, patterns of liberal theology, the Marxist challenge to Christian society, the social gospel, the recent reconstruction of theology under the influence of neo-orthodoxy, and the present-day ecumenical movement. In the final chapter (XIV) the authors endeavor to analyze and define the essence of Protestantism in the light of

its history and development. The book closes with an excellent bibliography for further study of the subject and a very helpful index. The reviewer suggests to the reader for critical study and examination the author's view on Luther's attitude toward Scripture (p. 46), his alleged essential agreement with Calvin on various doctrines strongly controverted between Lutheranism and Calvinism (p. 51), the supposed disagreement of the Formula of Concord with Luther's doctrine of the Bible (p. 264), and the distortion of Luther's teachings by later Lutheran commentators (p. 85), just to mention only these few points. While the reviewer does not share the authors' opinion on the essence and function of Protestantism, he, nevertheless, appreciates the great value of the book in presenting so lucidly and completely Protestantism in its various movements and ramifications both in Europe and America. The wealth of information it offers makes it a "must" book for all who wish to acquaint themselves with what happened in and to Protestantism since the Lutheran Reformation.

JOHN THEODORE MUELLER

HOW TO LEAD A SOUL TO CHRIST. By Robert G. Lee. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1955. 32 pages. Paper. 25 cents.

As you prepare a sermon for a "Mission Festival," an hour with this pamphlet will give you a real lift. Have the select group in your "Fisher-man's Club" or "Soul-Winners Society" read it, too. His chapter, "Convincing Confutation," forms a good outline for discussing excuses and arguments which the witness often hears. You will like his emphasis on personal piety as a necessary part of the witnessing process. The author's words on learning witnessing by doing are classic (pp. 11, 12). Almost every page has vivid illustrations from the Bible, church history, and a rich pastoral experience. The flowery style of this Baptist orator from Memphis, Tenn., will bother you at first, but his passion for souls helps you see witnessing through the eyes of Christ.

ARTHUR M. VINCENT

CONGREGATIONAL PRAISE. Fourth impression. London: Independent Press (Chicago: Alec R. Allenson), 1954. 1037 pages. Cloth. \$7.50.

COMPANION TO CONGREGATIONAL PRAISE. Edited by K. L. Parry and Erik Routley. London: Independent Press (Chicago: Alec R. Allenson), 1953. 580 pages. Cloth. \$7.00.

This hymnal and its companion volume constitute the most notable hymnological publication in the English language since World War II. The hymnal was first published in 1951; a new printing appeared in each of the following three years. Only one edition of the *Companion* has appeared thus far. The hymnal includes 751 hymns, nine so-called congregational anthems (among them several notable chorales), seventeen

hymns for private devotion, an appendix of 27 additional tunes for designated hymns, 26 pages of music settings of the canticles, 72 Psalms (many of them abridged) in Anglican chant settings and all pointed (including two versions of Psalm CL), 16 pages of chant settings of other portions of Scripture, six pages of ferial and festal responses, the Aaronic Benediction arranged by Lowell Mason, the monotoned version of the Lord's Prayer, and eight concluding Amens. The hymnal includes many little-known hymn-texts and tunes of the past and present. Careful discrimination was applied in selecting texts and tunes, and the book is superior in some respects to the famous *Songs of Praise*, edited by Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Martin Shaw (Oxford: 1931). Use was made of *The Hymnal—1940* of the Protestant Episcopal Church and of its *Companion*; while formerly America learned and copied largely from Europe, we here have an instance where American influence is making itself felt in England. (But the complete texts are under the music and no textual matter has been put between the staves, a practice that is frowned upon in America.) Many chorales are included, a large number translations by Catherine Winkworth. A number of the translations included are not in use in this country. Some chorale settings are rhythmical, others are isometric; it is difficult to ascertain what guiding principle was applied in selecting the one or the other. At any rate, the hymnal shows that in England, as in America, there is a tendency to get away from the foursquare and stilted isometric settings which have come to us largely from the Era of Pietism and which, we honestly believe, are largely responsible for the fact that many consider chorales dull and too sombre. *Congregational Praise*, unfortunately, makes consistent use of measure bars and thus stifles the innate free rhythm of many of its tunes.

The *Companion to Congregational Praise* includes a general introduction by A. G. Matthews. Though written for the laity, it includes information which will be new to many an expert hymnologist. Unlike many other handbooks to hymnals, which are in disrepute because they are not the product of careful original research and have copied one another's copious errors, the volume presently under discussion is above the ordinary and is thus in a class with the *Companion* to the Protestant Episcopal Hymnal—1940 and with Percy Dearmer's *Songs of Praise Discussed* (Oxford: 1933). A good and objective discussion, one page long, is devoted to Martin Luther, six of whose hymns have been included in *Congregational Praise*. Paul Gerhardt is represented by five hymns.

WALTER E. BUSZIN

THE NEW BEING. By Paul Tillich. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955. 179 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

Devotees of the religious-philosophical writings of Paul Tillich will be interested in the clarity with which he addresses himself from the pulpit

to the "average" hearer — although "average" may be qualified by the fact that the original audiences were academic communities. Those not acquainted with Tillich will find him employing standard theological terms and will wonder whether they are the same ideas with which they are familiar. "*The New Being* is, so to speak, the answer to the questions developed in *The Shaking of the Foundations*," says the Preface. The title sermon, following upon a sermon on forgiveness, defines the New Being as the life in the New Creation because of reconciliation, and thus reunion, with God, and ongoing resurrection from the old to the new. The addresses are grouped into sections on the New Being as love, freedom, and fulfillment. Texts are frequently lengthy and conventional in choice. Applications, in effect, urge the hearer to be what God gives him the opportunity to be. That Tillich does not speak with more explicitness concerning the redemptive work of Christ is evidently due in part to his own wonder at the sweeping and immense nature of that act (cf. "Is There Any Word from the Lord?" e.g., pp.121f.; and "Universal Salvation," pp.23f.). This is a challenging book; but may we be preserved from preachers who will parrot its phrases without being stirred as was the author!

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

THE CHURCHES AND THE SCHOOLS. By Francis X. Curran. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1954. vi and 152 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

Here is a work of historical research that is significant, interesting, and well done. Written by a Jesuit, the book investigates why during the past century American Protestantism surrendered control of popular elementary education to the state.

Reviewing in separate chapters the history of the educational philosophy and endeavor of the Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Reformed Churches, Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists, the author finds that the chief causes of their surrender of educational control to the state are the following: Animus against Roman Catholicism; the doctrine of conversion; the passing of the need for "German"; the lack of trained teachers; the lack of money; the lack of pupils; the lack of strong interest in parochial schools; the lack of strong leadership; and the lack of strong faith in the teachings of the churches.

The chief, and logical, consequence of the surrender of their claims on any one division of education, according to the author's well-documented findings, is the ultimate abandonment of all formal education by the Protestant denominations. "Having welcomed the state into the field of education without reservation, it was reduced to justifying its own presence in any part of that field." Other consequences, as the reader discovers them in the history, are confusion, a loss of sense of direction, many contradictory and ineffective resolutions of conventions and conferences, and a practice that remains wholly inadequate to meet the needs.

The author "found that only four Protestant churches still try to implement the traditional claim of the Christian Church to control elementary education," namely, the Mennonites, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Christian Reformed Church, and, of course, the Lutheran Synodical Conference, especially The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

The book is worth reading and worth having on one's shelves for ready reference.

A. G. MERKENS

AS I SAW IT. By Thomas Elliot Huntley. New York: Comet Press, 1954. 146 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

The author is pastor of Central Baptist Church in St. Louis and is one of the city's most gifted preachers. Publication of the book was prompted by the inclusion of the author's name in lists of subversive preachers published by J. B. Matthews. The volume includes eleven of the author's messages in which he set forth his affirmation of atonement through Jesus' blood, his repudiation of Communism, his plea for what he terms "Commonism," or the inclusion of all races in a Christian world order and his optimism for his fellow Negroes. An appendix gives an account of the "church on wheels" of Central Baptist Church, a system of branch Sunday schools originating from a bus located in an area for a number of weeks, accompanied by intensive lay effort.

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

DEMOCRACY IN THE HOME. By Christine Beasley. New York: Association Press, 1955. xiv and 242 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Christine Beasley is Professor of Child Development and Family Relations at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. As the title indicates, her book fosters the democratic way of life in the family setting, "a way of life based on the belief in the worth, dignity, and creative capacity of every individual human being, and in the value of creative participation and co-operation of all individuals within a group." Democracy is "a kind of society where the development of human personality is the aim, and co-operation the method." This kind of democracy the author recommends as "the best route we know to the good life" and as "the best answer we have for group organization."

We can recommend the book to parents, students, and church leaders for its many realistic illustrations, for its many helpful suggestions based on experiences of families, and for its emphasis on creative attitudes that are conducive to wholesome growth of individuals and families. The book is eminently practical in its attack upon the garden variety problems of families, such as problems of money, work, love. The chapters on "Authority and Discipline" and "The Family Council" contain acceptable hints concerning methods of democratic control in the family. The author rejects extreme applications of the non-repressive principles of Deweyism and of Hall's doctrine of catharsis. She points out the need, for the wel-

fare of children, of a proper recognition of parental responsibility and a proper exercise of sufficient authority by adults.

At the same time, the book contains theological defects and inadequacies of various proportions. Marriage appears to be merely "a partnership." We looked in vain for the father who is the head of the family, bearing God-given primary responsibility and vested with corresponding authority. The author's estimate of human nature appears to be that of "the psychiatrist who tells us that man does indeed have possibilities for both good and evil, but that primarily he is good." The basis for our standards of behavior is a "basic universal code of ethics," a code of "humanistic ethics," not a fixed and perfect divine code. The argument that "as one grows in wisdom and ability to reason, so should he grow in personal morality" can lead back to the oft exploded maxim of Socrates and Plato that "knowledge is virtue." The apostolic injunction, "Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord," would seem to be directed only to small children whose powers of reasoning have not yet appeared.

To summarize, the argument of the book rests on the latest findings of psychology, psychiatry, group dynamics, and sociology. Its basis is purely humanistic. Supply a sound Christian basis for the book (the will of the Creator, the powers ordained of God, the love of God in Christ, etc.) and you will greatly enhance for yourself the value of this book.

A. G. MERKENS

THE BACH FAMILY — SEVEN GENERATIONS OF CREATIVE GENIUS. By Karl Geiringer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. 514 pages. Cloth. \$7.50.

The author of this book is Chairman of the Department of Graduate Studies at Boston University College of Music and President of the American Musicological Society. A universally respected scholar already long before he took up residence in the United States of America, he is eminently well equipped to write an authoritative work on the Bach family. His book contains much information regarding the antecedents and progeny of J. S. Bach which will not be found elsewhere. Karl Geiringer is interesting and erudite even when he discusses the more widely known facts of the life and work of the most illustrious cantor of St. Thomas in Leipzig. He succeeds in plumbing the depths of his subject without losing sight of his goal. He is always lucid and convincing. While his book will be a "must" for every Bach scholar's library for some years to come, it has much to say which will interest also the amateur and the layman.

Judged from a theological point of view, the book reveals one serious defect: Prof. Geiringer, who does not claim to be a theologian, of necessity leans heavily on what others have said regarding Lutheran Orthodoxy and its theologians of the 17th and 18th centuries. He inadvertently permits those who are unfriendly toward it to lead him into insidious and cruel

traps. In a spirit of justice we prefer not to blame Prof. Geiringer for this defect in his book, for he is a cautious scholar of the first order. We blame rather the many church historians who have disseminated a distorted view of Lutheran Orthodoxy, who put all Orthodox Lutherans, the good and the bad, into one category and who brand them all as being both vicious and dead in their orthodoxy. Unfortunately not a few Lutheran church historians are partners in this crime. They are like many in our day who denounce and belittle in print the sturdy, tested and worshipful liturgical and musical heritage and traditions of their own Lutheran Church; thereby they obscure and bury the precious and beautiful habit and vesture of their church and expose instead its soiled linen and tattered and faded habiliments to public view and scorn. Dr. Geiringer's book again forces us to conclude that it is high time that an equitable and authentic history of Lutheran Orthodoxy be written. Prof. Geiringer's book would be even better than it actually is had the Lutheran Church come to his assistance and put at his disposal for consultation and use a thoroughly reliable and scholarly record of Lutheran church history. WALTER E. BUSZIN

THE CHURCH, POLITICS, AND SOCIETY. By James A. Pike and John W. Pyle. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1955. 159 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

The authors are clergymen on the staff of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. The book comprises eleven dialogues which were originally presented on a radio network, some also at evening services of the Cathedral, a sequel to an earlier series of dialogue sermons between Dean Pike and Chaplain John McG. Krumm entitled *Roadblocks to Faith*. This book deals with eleven questions concerning the church's stake in and relation to politics, including its method of discussing politics, its relation to Communism, its attitude to segregation and war, and the value of the World Council of Churches. The dialogues are not profound nor do they carry documentation; but they display a good technique of facing up to the church's shortcomings and of indicating the limitations of false expectations placed upon the church by its critics.

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN. By John Murray. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1955. 117 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

Here is one of the best short manuals of Christian ethics this reviewer has read in some time. The author, the minister of Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, England, discusses how Christians may witness at work, home, leisure, and even the cinema; how to take a Christian view of the great adventures of life, falling in love, marriage, and parenthood; how to apply Christian principles in social responsibilities, especially citizenship. The author not only clearly sets forth Christian principles, but also gives concrete suggestions for practicing them. He has

lived close to the people of his parish. Naturally he slants his presentation toward them, but most of what he says applies equally well to American Christians. However, a Lutheran pastor will want to reinforce this material on sanctification with a stronger Gospel motivation and more emphasis on the spiritual power in the means of grace.

ARTHUR M. VINCENT

LIFE TOGETHER. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Translated by John W. Doberstein. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. 122 pages. Cloth. \$1.75.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, martyred by the Nazis for his religious work in the underground movement, wrote this little volume under the title *Gemeinsames Leben* in 1938, after living with twenty-five vicars in the common life of an illegal seminary for the training of young pastors in Pomerania. The flavor of the original has been splendidly reflected in the translation by Dean Doberstein. Bonhoeffer is already being hailed as a modern mystic. In this volume he is quite the opposite; here he is the interpreter of the practical and concrete Christian calling, that of life together with other Christians. In unsophisticated but penetrating paragraphs propped directly on Biblical extracts Bonhoeffer reviews the nature of Christian fellowship, its progress through the day in common worship and mutual Scripture reading, eating and working together. A tiny chapter on "The Day Alone" is rich in suggestions for the cultivation of spiritual life. Under "Ministry" Bonhoeffer suggests such mutual services as "holding one's tongue," "meekness," "listening," "helpfulness," "bearing," "proclaiming," and "authority." Profound are the thoughts on mutual confession of sin as basic for communion. The thoughtful and dedicated pastor will seek to realize the ideals of this volume in his own family and in the group life of his parish.

RICHARD R. CAEMMERER

BOOKS RECEIVED

High Is the Wall. By Ruth Muirhead Berry. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 269 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Peloubet's Select Notes on the International Bible Lessons for Christian Teaching for 1956. By Wilbur M. Smith. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1955. xiv+465 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

How to Make Sense. By Rudolf Flesch. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 202 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

Bloody Mary. By Theodore Maynard. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. 297 pages. Cloth. \$4.95.

The Seminary Rule: An Explanation of the Purposes Behind It and How Best to Carry It Out. By Thomas Dubay. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1954. xiv+146 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

The Development of the Papacy. By H. Burn-Murdoch. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1954. 432 pages. Cloth. \$7.50.

Repertorium Lexicographicum Graecum: A Catalogue of Indexes and Dictionaries to Greek Authors. By Harald and Blenda Riesenfeld. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1954. 95 pages. Cloth. Sw. Kr. 22.-.

Christianity and Western Civilization. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1954. vii+63 pages. Cloth. \$2.50.

Joan of Arc. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954. 367 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

The Church of Scotland Interim Report on the Special Commission on Baptism. Thomas F. Torrance, Convener. John Heron, Secretary. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1955. 54 pages. Paper. 2/-.

Puritanism and Richard Baxter. By Hugh Martin. London: SCM Press, 1954. 223 pages. Cloth. 15/-.

The Medieval Church. By Marshall W. Baldwin. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1953. x+124 pages. Paper. \$1.25.

Das Aeltestenamt der christlichen Gemeinde im Lichte der Heiligen Schrift. By Wilhelm Michaelis. Bern: Berchtold Haller Verlag, 1953. 176 pages. Cloth. Sw. Fr. 13.50.

A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Second Series. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1955. Volume IX: *St. Hilary of Poitiers, Select Works*, trans. E. W. Watson and L. Pullan, ed. W. Sanday; *John of Damascus, Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, trans. S. D. F. Salmond; ci+364 pages. Volume X: *St. Ambrose, Select Works and Letters*, trans. H. De Romestin; xxiii+497 pages. Volume XI: *The Works of Sulpitius Severus*, trans. Alexander Roberts; *The Commonitory of Vincent of Lerins*, trans. C. A. Neurtley; *The Works of John Cassian*, trans. Edgar C. S. Gibson; 802 pages. Cloth. \$6.00 per volume.

Portrait of Calvin. By T. H. L. Parker. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955. 125 pages. Cloth. \$2.00.

The Meaning of Holiness (Quatre Saints). By Louis Lavelle, trans. Dorothea O'Sullivan. New York: Pantheon Books, 1954. vi+113 pages. Cloth. \$2.75.

Revelation and Religion: Studies in the Theological Interpretation of Religious Types. By Herbert H. Farmer. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. xi+244 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

The Biblical Doctrine of the Ministry. By J. K. S. Reid. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1955. vii+47 pages. Paper. 5/-.

The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America. By Conrad Wright. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. 305 pages. Cloth. \$4.00.

Augustine: Later Works (The Library of Christian Classics, Volume VIII). Trans. John Burnaby. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955. 359 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

Bischofsamt und apostolische Sukzession im deutschen Protestantismus. By Ernst Benz, 1953. 265 pages. Cloth. DM 16.80.

Das Widerstandsrecht als theologisch-ethisches Problem. By Walter Künneth. Munich: Claudius-Verlag, 1954. 18 pages. Paper. DM 1.50.

Evangelium und Christengemeinschaft. By Wilhelm Stählin. Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1953. 156 pages. Cloth. DM 9.-.

The Communist Menace, the Present Chaos and Our Christian Responsibility. By Arthur Vööbus. New York: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1955. 64 pages. Paper. \$1.00. (Obtainable from bookstore, Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Ill.)

The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind up to His Conversion. By John J. O'Meara. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1954. xv+215 pages. Cloth. \$4.50.

A History of the Crusades. By Steven Runciman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Cloth. \$17.50. Vol. I: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*; xiv+377 pages; \$6.00. Volume II: *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100—1187*; xii+523 pages; \$7.50. Volume III: *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*; xii+530 pages; \$6.50. Cloth.

The Parabolic Teaching of Scripture. By G. H. Lang. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1955. 400 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Church and State Through the Centuries: A Collection of Historic Documents with Commentaries. Trans. and ed. Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morrall. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1954. xiv+625 pages. Cloth. \$6.75.

Theology of the New Testament. By Rudolf Bultmann. Volume II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955. vii+278 pages. Cloth. \$4.00.

George Herbert: His Religion and Art. By Joseph H. Summers. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. 248 pages. Cloth. \$4.25.

The Rungless Ladder: Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism. By Charles H. Foster. Durham: Duke University Press, 1954. xix+278 pages. Cloth. \$4.50.

The Personalness of God. By William F. Wunsch. Chicago: The Swedenborg Philosophical Centre, 1955. 12 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

The Harvard Divinity School: Its Place in Harvard University and in American Culture. By George Huntston Williams. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954. xxviii+366 pages. Cloth. \$5.00.

When You Build Your Church. By John R. Scotford. Great Neck: Doniger and Raughley, 1955. 246 pages. Cloth. \$3.00.

Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue. By Maurice S. Friedman. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. x+310 pages. Cloth. \$6.00.

Quackery in the Public Schools. By Albert Lynd. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954. ix+282 pages. Cloth. \$3.50.

Why Close Communion? By Don Deffner. Second edition. Berkeley: The Rev. Don Deffner, 1955. 17 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

Why Delay Lutheran Union? By Don Deffner. Berkeley: The Rev. Don Deffner, 1955. 4 pages. Paper. 1 cent.

Expository Outlines on the Whole Bible. By Charles Simeon. Vol. 18: Philippians to 1 Timothy, viii+552 pages. Vol. 19: 2 Timothy to Hebrews, viii+554 pages. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1955. Cloth. \$3.95 a volume. With these two volumes—the former with 104 "outlines" and the latter with 112—the publishers' photolithographed reissue of the eighth London edition (1847) of Simeon's *Horae Homileticae* completes the traditionally Pauline corpus.

Witness Where You Are. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 24 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

Mealtime Prayers. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 5 pages. Paper. 5 cents.

What I Owe My Parents. By Paul G. Hansen. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 18 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

To Join or Not to Join. By Roland H. A. Seboldt. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 23 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

Bible Study in an H-Bomb World. By Walter Riess. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 6 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

Suppose It's True! By Herman W. Gockel. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 23 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

From the Window, a set of 12 tracts. By Herman W. Gockel. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 24 pages. Paper. 20 cents.

You Can't Witness? By Jim Roberts. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 8 pages. Paper. 4 cents.

When You Pray. By Alfred Doerffler. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 15 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

Does Your Child Know Jesus? By Robert Hoyer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 10 pages. Paper. 10 cents.

My Sunday School. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 8 pages. Paper. 5 cents.

Why Confirmation? By Herbert C. Meyer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. 11 pages. Paper. 10 cents.